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CHRISTIANIZING A NATION

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Being the Enoch Pond Lectures Delivered at Bangor Theological Seminary, 1929

BY

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CHRISTIANIZING A NATION

I

A CHRISTIAN NATION

I

A CHRISTIAN NATION

THERE is no such thing as a Christian nation. So men have been saying since the World War. Up to 1914 we had spoken of Christendom with a certain sense of pride. It was lighted up by electricity and presented a shining contrast to what we called heathendom. We spoke of the "Christian" nations in distinction from the "pagan" nations in a tone which expressed complacency. For generations we had assumed that there was a vast difference between a Christian nation and one that was not; but when the World War came we began to ask ourselves whether there is so great a difference after all. During the war all nations seemed to be much alike. Christian England and Shintoist Japan walked side by side across the slippery fields of blood, and one could scarcely be distinguished from the other. Mohammedan Turkey brutally slaughtered

women on the land, and Christian Germany savagely killed women on the sea. Men began to say all nations are alike. All are savages, all are brutes. Civilization is a whitewash which disappears in a rain. Christianity is a veneer which cracks and drops away when subjected to a strain. There may be Christian individuals but of Christian nations there is none.

With this conviction once established in the mind, the questions arose: Can there be a Christian nation? Can Christianity pervade and dominate so large a group? Is not the religion of Jesus confined in its power to the family and worshipping congregation? Can Christ do his mighty deeds in the realm of national action? Is not a nation under laws different from those which apply to the individual? Is not a nation a law to itself? Is not its highest duty self-protection and self-aggrandizement? Is the ethical code of the New Testament applicable to nations in their dealings with one another? Can they come up even to the high standards of the Old? Was the Decalogue written for them? Did Micah have nations in his mind when he spoke of justice

and mercy and walking humbly with God? Were the Beatitudes promulgated for nations and can the Golden Rule be adopted by them? Do not actions which are praiseworthy in the realm of individual conduct become reprehensible in the sphere of national life? Are not some of the private virtues impossible in the character of a nation, and would not other virtues become vices if a nation should ever venture to exhibit them? For instance, how can a nation repent? Is there such a thing as national repentance? Can a nation truly be said to forgive? Can millions of people be brought at any one moment into a common mood? Has a government a right to pardon transgression? Should a government surrender any of the rights of its people? Is sacrifice a beautiful principle in the sphere of international conduct? If the people have committed precious interests and sacred rights into the keeping of their government, is the government justified in giving up either the interests or the rights in obedience to the principles expressed in the Sermon on the Mount? In short, is Christianity practicable in the realm of di-

plomacy? Must statesmen close the New Testament when they proceed to transact the business of the state? Is the religion of Jesus a beautiful dream, a poetic fancy of a lovely soul, a series of precepts to be taught to children but absolutely useless to men who are obliged to deal with large affairs? Is Christianity a world religion or is it a parochial philosophy workable only within the bounds of the parish? These are urgent questions, and they cut deep. They are questions which must be answered.

They lead us ultimately to the question: Ought a nation to make any effort to become Christian? If we admit that after two thousand years of Christian development we have as yet not succeeded in producing even one Christian nation and if we are in doubt as to whether such a nation is possible, the questions inevitably arise: Ought a nation to be Christian? Would it be a good thing for humanity if all nations should become Christian or would their Christian faith and conduct lead to national demoralization and ultimate decay? Is not the chief virtue of a nation power? Is not weakness its one un-

pardonable sin? Should not a nation in season and out of season cultivate the will to power? Does not a nation owe it to itself and to the whole human race to impose its culture on its neighbours if that culture is superior to theirs? Does not the universe have in its mind ends different from those announced by Jesus and his apostles, and is it not likely that the world in the long run is to be moulded by economic and cultural forces far different from those which Jesus of Nazareth set in motion? There are thinkers, clever and plausible, who are ready to answer all of these questions in a way hostile to the teaching of the Christian church. What are the leaders of the church going to say on behelf of the religion whose custodians they are?

Let us begin with the questions: Are there any Christian nations? Are we justified in speaking of nations as Christian? It depends on what is meant by Christian. For convenience in conversation it is desirable that we should have differentiating words to distinguish from one another nations which are obviously unlike. If the population of a coun-

try is dominated largely by the ideals of one particular religious teacher there is no reason why it should not bear his name. It is proper to speak of Turkey as a Mohammedan country, and of Burmah as a Buddhist country, and of China as a Confucianist country, and of Japan as a Shintoist country. Why should we not speak of England and France and Germany and the United States as Christian countries? We call them this because Christ has left his stamp on their thinking and conduct in a most unmistakable way. It is not meant that the whole population confesses allegiance to Jesus, or even that the whole company of those who confess such allegiance live up to his teachings. But in the general trend and character of the life of the people the influence of Jesus Christ is more clearly discernible than that of any other religious teacher. Nations are nominally Christian, and we are justified in calling them Christian if in the structure of the thinking of the masses of the people the teaching of Christ is unmistakably seen.

In the strictest sense of the word there is no

Christian nation, for the reason that no nation has officially confessed Christ as its head. No nation has publicly and solemnly dedicated itself to him and announced to the world that it intends to build all of its governmental action upon his principles and laws. There is no nation that has ever exemplified, except in shadowy and fleeting ways, the character of Jesus. All nations have repeatedly sinned and fallen short of the glory of God. Governments, like all other things human, are fallible and capable of infinite blundering. Every governmental hand has damned spots upon it. Every nation has many blotted pages in its history. If by Christian nation is meant a nation which is a consistent and faithful follower of Jesus in every department of its political and social life, there are no Christian nations, and it will be long before such a nation arrives. There is no ideal Christian nation, but there are nations which are following Jesus afar off. There are nations which have made a beginning. Their faces are turned toward Christian ideals, even though they stumble often and sometimes lose their way.

One meets with the same difficulty in dealing with the individual Christian. In regard to many men we do not know whether they merit the Christian name or not. Good and bad are jumbled in them. In some ways they are Christian, and in other ways they are pagan. The body of their life is generally sound, but there are some rotten spots. It is sometimes asserted that there are no Christians anywhere—no consistent, loyal followers of Jesus. It has been cynically remarked that this world has never had but one Christian and he died upon a cross. It is often said that the church is not Christian. The so-called Christian church is really pagan. The word Christian connected with it is a misnomer. It is a name it does not deserve. But all such contentions are, it seems to me, foolish. To be worthy of the name of Christian one does not have to be an ideal man. One does not have to be full statured to win the right to call himself a follower of Jesus. Paul called all the members of the church saints. They were not flawless in character or perfect in disposition, but they were called to a holy life, and they

were trying with different degrees of earnestness and with many a lapse and failure to become what God wanted them to be. We gain nothing by narrowing the word Christian until it covers only a few exceptional souls. It belongs to all who are trying, however imperfectly, to follow in the footsteps of Jesus Christ. We contribute nothing to the progress of truth by asserting that there are no Christians on the earth, or that there is no such thing as a Christian church, or that no nation has a right to be called Christian. There are no completed Christians, no perfect Christians, no sinless Christians, but there are many beginning Christians, kindergarten Christians, growing Christians, Christians who approximate, some of them with charming closeness, the pattern set before them in the mount. There are no Christian nations in the sense of ideal nations, perfect nations, consistent nations, nations at all points obedient to the commands of Jesus Christ. But there are nations which have in them so many devout men and women who are striving to reproduce the life of Jesus, and which show at so many

points in governmental action the spirit of the founder of the Christian religion, that they may rightfully bear the name of Christian. A nation, then, can be really Christian. It can become more and more Christian. It can grow in grace and in the knowledge of Jesus Christ, God's Son. A nation ought to be Christian. If it refuses to become Christian it is lost. We are living in a Christian universe. Our little planet is a Christian planet. In Christ all things hang together. The God who rules the world has a mind like the mind of Jesus. The King of Kings and the Lord of Lords has the disposition which is revealed in the Beatitudes and which expresses itself in the Golden Rule. Jesus Christ is the Lord of mankind. Before him every nation will some day bend the knee and every ruler and parliament will confess that he is Master indeed.

If, then, a nation ought to be Christian and can be Christian and must be Christian, it is time that we were forming the habit of thinking of Christianity more often in the terms of national life. How few church members there are who think of their nation as a Christian.

How few ministers there are who train their people to think of the United States as a Christian among the nations of the earth. It does not occur to many of us that religion has anything to do with the nation or that the church has any responsibility for saving Uncle Sam. Most of us are parochial in our religious thinking. We have been cumbered with many parish cares. We have had an infinite number of things to puzzle us and attend to, and we have had neither the time nor the strength to take a nation-wide view of the mission of the church of Christ. National perils have sometimes attracted our attention, but national duties have not often pressed themselves on our conscience. National problems are complex, and national questions are likely to be baffling, and the ordinary American Christian has no disposition to dabble in matters which he considers above his head. It is enough for him to be a Christian in his own home and in his own town, without bothering too much about what his nation is doing. Matters of state, we assume, belong to statesmen. The church does well when it leaves them

alone. We live in a country in which church and state are forever kept separate by constitutional enactment, and it is not the duty of a Christian man to try to make his nation religious. Let it remain secular!

The application of Christian principles to social and commercial groups has gone forward with long strides within the last fifty years. The problems of the town have come to the front, and we now have not only social centres but community chests and community churches. We are thinking more and more about the needs of the town and about the necessity of keeping its tone Christian. We meditate often on what we owe to the town and what the government of the town owes to its people, but we have not gone far yet in applying our Christianity to the life of the nation. We do not feel at home in these larger fields. We breathe with difficulty in the air of these wider realms. Only a few restless thinkers have ventured to bend their mind to national Christianity. The national tariff has long been the subject of discussion, and many Americans can talk about it with enthusiasm

if not with wisdom. National immigration laws also have a perennial fascination. Occasionally national rights become all absorbing. The economic and political problems of the nation have provoked much thought and produced many books, but the religious duties of the nation have received only scant attention, and when one runs his eyes over the books which have dealt with the application of Christian principles to national problems one is amazed to discover how few they are. We have not yet begun to think in this all-important field. We do not easily think of our religion in connection with our nation. We do not ponder the questions: How can we make our country more Christian? How can we help it play a Christian rôle in the life of the world? We have many ambitions, but that America may be nobly Christian in thought and action on the stage of history is not one of them. We have not trained ourselves to hold our country in our eye. The ideal of a Christian nation does not thrill us because we see it dimly. We have a lethargic conscience in the realm of national action because we do not

see clearly what our duties as a nation are. In the Seventeenth Century there lived a Christian thinker who always kept his nation in his eye. "Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks; methinks I see her as an eagle, renewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam." We Americans like to wave the flag, and we stand up whenever "The Star-Spangled Banner" is played or sung, but we are not alert in the realm of earnest thinking concerning what Christian America ought to be and do. We are the victims of village thinking. A village is as large a unit of life as we can easily manage. We are just learning how to grapple with the problems of minor groups, and we are not able yet to get a firm grip on such a large group as the nation. The nation is vague and abstract. Some of us are seeing visions, and others of us are dreaming dreams, but in our exalted hours not many of us visualize the nation. We visualize most easily the individual and after him the town. Few of us

ever see America like an eagle, kindling her undazzled eyes at the midday beam of the Sun of Righteousness. We do not see the great Republic of the West moving among the nations of the earth as one who serves.

There are, however, forces at work in the world to-day which will compel the leaders of the church to give earnest attention to national morality. One of the mightiest of these forces is called "nationalism." It is not easy to define it, but it is very real, and it is advancing. It is a world movement, and it takes on many forms. In Ireland it is intense, in Egypt it is explosive, in India it is sullen and implacable, in China it is irresistible. In the Balkans and in Central America it is vibrant and vocal. It is an emotion and is contagious. It is a fire and is burning all the way around the earth. It expresses itself in various phraseology. One of its favourite slogans is "Self-determination." It is a national consciousness operating in new and unprecedented ways. As a world force it did not emerge till the Nineteenth Century. Before that century the word "nationalism" had not found its way into

the European vocabulary. Now it has a place in every language. Men are proud to call themselves nationalists. They are zealous for their nation's rights. They are abnormally sensitive to their nation's honour. They are patriots of a super-type. It is not easy to draw a line between patriotism and nationalism. The second is something more than the first. Nationalism is not only a passion: it is also a philosophy. It has a creed. It is built on clear and definite ideas. It holds that the state is the supreme and all-sufficient reality. The state is independent and sovereign. Every other loyalty must be subordinate to the loyalty which a man owes to his nation. The nation is the consummate ideal of human organization, and before it every other organization must bow. The nation thus becomes a god. Beside that god there is none other worthy of the worship of the modern man. The state is an end in itself, and one need look no further for a sufficient motive to live and labour. In this way nationalism has to millions become a religion. It has its dogmas and its ceremonies. Flaming apostles in many coun-

tries proclaim its doctrines and push its claims on the consciences of men. Its ideals are carried aloft with pride and shouting. It is the most enthusiastic religion now extant. It is the hottest thing upon our planet. It carries in its heart forces which may wreck the world. Its ideals are high, but they are not the highest. Its sympathies are broad, but they are not broad enough. In exalting the nation to the highest place it has overlooked humanity. In glorifying the advantage of the part, it has lost sight of the welfare of the whole. It leads to national selfishness. It begets a patriotism which is always on the verge of chauvinism. It stirs up malignant passions and leads to dangerous practices. It has a tendency to set nations against one another. It stimulates the old tribal instincts which float in the blood. It quickens into new life national jealousies and antagonisms and leads to the building of barriers by which nations are separated from one another. Tariff walls and favoured nations' clauses and economic boycotts and trade retaliations and special commercial privileges follow the nationalistic spirit. Nations enter

into costly and foolish rivalries and are always in danger of being precipitated into war. The World War was the outcome of nationalistic feeling raised to the boiling point.

Nationalism impels its devotees to place their own country first. When it speaks in Germany it says, "Germany first!" When it lifts up its voice in Poland it shouts, "Poland first!" When it speaks in America it cries, "America first!" When it has done its perfect work it makes patriotism odious. It converts love of country into a bragging, strutting, egotistic thing which is as dangerous as it is unlovely. Along with the undue exaltation of one's own country there runs a disposition to look down on other countries. Patriotism comes to mean hatred of foreign countries. All countries but one's own are to be suspected and spied upon and guarded against. Big navies are the bubbles blown from the pipe of a nationalism which has lost its reason. A blatant and godless nationalism can pull down upon its head the pillars of the temple of our civilization. It is to-day the outstanding menace of the world. Tribal wars were petty.

Wars between rival cities did not jeopardize the peace of a continent. Class wars have been often bitter and exceedingly destructive, but all these bygone conflicts were as nothing compared with wars between nations armed with modern weapons of destruction. Nationalism whets the sword to a sharper edge. It inspires men to invent a more deadly gas. By it experts are encouraged to construct a larger bomb-dropping aëroplane and devise a more cunning and devilish submarine.

Nationalism is the sworn enemy of internationalism. Internationalism exhibits a width of vision and of sympathy and of understanding which is hateful to the nationalistic mind. In the newspapers and magazines of a certain school one often reads snarling remarks about idealists and internationalists. Sometimes they are classed with bolshevists and anarchists, enemies of the human race. Sometimes they are denounced as traitors, scoundrels worthy of the scorn of all patriotic men. The standardized nationalist is a man who dwells fondly on the virtues of his own nation and who magnifies the vices of its neighbours. He

sings in a loud voice the praises of his country and closes his ears to the praises of any country other than his own. He believes that his people are the chosen people and that their glorious destiny is the central fact in the eternal plan of God.

Whereunto this mighty giant is going to grow no one can say. When the state is deified and given supreme authority over men's lives and fortunes it is all-important what spirit it is of.

A nation with an evil spirit, gathering the instruments of education into its hands, could easily militarize the entire population in a single generation. It could inculcate in the mind of youth a materialistic philosophy, and plant the seeds of disintegrating social theories, and make regnant an unsound economic system, thus blocking indefinitely the progress of those sovereign interests which the best men love. If the church of Christ cannot tame and temper the nationalistic spirit in its diseased and degraded forms, there is no hope for the future of the world.

The nations have become colossi, and we

petty men walk under their huge legs and peep about to find out what the government has ordered us to do. A militarized state is a danger of one kind, and an industrialized state is a peril of another sort, and a commercialized state brings upon us a still different set of plagues. One thing is certain: the nations are going to play an enlarged rôle in the human drama through the next hundred years, and the cardinal question is what kind of nationalism are we going to have? Are we to have a Christian nationalism, or are we to have a low and narrow and perverted nationalism; one which breathes the spirit of Cæsar, or one which is informed by the spirit of the Son of God? This is the question which the Christian church must answer. The application of the principles of the New Testament to national ideals and policies is the immediate work of Christian men.

The word "nation" or "nations" occurs far more frequently in the Old Testament than in the New. The Hebrew prophets were always grappling with national evils and striving mightily to solve national problems. Their

special business was to see that the king did right. For this reason they have much to teach the ministers of religion through all generations. The Puritans loved the Old Testament almost more than the New because in the Old they found guidance in the difficult work they had to do. In England their critical business was with the state, an old state which had grown tyrannical and corrupt. In New England they had to lay the foundations of a new state, and without the assistance of the Old Testament they would have been left without a guide. Not a few of the embarrassments into which the Puritans fell, and many of the blunders which they committed, were due to the fact that they followed the Old Testament too closely and did not rely sufficiently on the New.

The New Testament is an incomparable handbook for all who are interested in statesmanship and who wish to build a nation according to the will of God. There are no political precepts, to be sure, in the Gospels or Epistles. The hour had not come for instruction to political leaders or for marking out

the lines of national policy. Jesus gave no suggestions to the head of the Roman Empire and issued no commands even to the kings of Palestine. He was intent on establishing certain principles in the hearts of a few men willing to listen to him, but all the time he kept his eyes on the nation and nations. He carried them all in his heart. He was thinking of them when he said, "I am the light of the world." He had them in his mind when he said to his disciples, "Ye are the salt of the earth." His thoughts were still on them when he said to the Greeks who came to Jerusalem to see him: "I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me." He could not go to Greece in the flesh. He had a baptism to be baptized with, and he was straitened until it was accomplished. He could not visit Greece in his body, but in his spirit he would go, and not to Greece only but to the ends of the earth. He kept thinking of the nations up to the very moment a cloud received him from human sight, and his last word was, "Go disciple the nations." They, too, were to become disciples and to be instructed in the very same truths he had given

to the Twelve. These nations were to be baptized into his spirit, and his ideals were to be kept shining in their eyes. Saul of Tarsus caught early the vast reach of the religion of Jesus and began to lay his plans for carrying the gospel to nations far away. Jesus could not go to Athens, but Paul was permitted to go. To the philosophers of the capitol of the world's highest culture he announced the sublime truth that God is a god of nations as well as of individuals and that he has made of one piece of stuff the whole of mankind. Greek conceit was never able to forgive that stab. All the nations are related to God and are under his sway. He has determined their appointed seasons and the bounds of their habitation. He is the architect of national life and determines what area of the earth's surface each nation shall control and also what shall be the period of its dominion. Bounds both of time and of space are in his hands. He is the Lord of the nations. The supreme end of the nations is precisely the same as the supreme end of individual men. Their chief end is to find God and know him. To know him is life eternal. All

nations are under one divine law. They stand every day in the presence of one divine judge. That judge is Jesus of Nazareth, who was crucified outside the walls of Jerusalem, and who was raised from the dead on the third day. This was the message which Paul gave to the Athenians. He gives the same message to us. The nations all lie within the scope of the divine sovereignty, and they all are measured by the same standard. The nations all stand before the judgment seat of Christ to give an account of the things done in their body. In the first Gospel we have a picture of the Judgment Day drawn by Jesus himself, and in that picture the nations stand before the king. The king is the judge. The judge is Jesus. He sets nations, some on the right hand and some on the left. Some he commends and some he condemns. Some move toward the light, others move toward the darkness. The principle of judgment is fixed. Nations are to be judged by their likeness or unlikeness to the character of Jesus. They are to be judged not by what they say but by what they have done.

Many interesting questions fly into the face

of one who begins to think about the spiritual life of nations. Has a nation a soul? When people say that America saved her soul or America is losing her soul, what do the words mean? Is a nation a person, and is it personally accountable for what is done under its flag? We are always personifying the nations. The newspapers do this every day. They inform us what England thinks or what France feels or what Germany wants or what Italy or Russia is going to do. But are nations in any true sense persons, and are they responsible for what they do? We constantly speak of them as though they were persons and can be held responsible for their conduct. The United States holds Great Britain responsible for the payment of the debt which she owes us, and the Allies hold Germany responsible for at least a part of the damage her armies did. They say that a corporation has no soul. Is that true also of a nation? What do we mean by a nation's "soul"? Is it not a collective consciousness, a common state of mind—a kind of mind which extends through the whole human group known as the nation?

This mind has certain constant mental and moral qualities, certain intellectual and spiritual endowments. It may not be easy to define the soul of a nation, but neither is it easy to define the soul of a man. There are sundry wise people who deny that a man has a soul, and, therefore, it need not surprise us that the soul of a nation is often denied. There are undoubtedly metaphysical difficulties encountered by anyone who speaks about the soul, but we shall doubtless go on for a long time yet talking and writing about it, not only the soul of the individual but the soul of a nation as well.

If a nation has a soul, evidently that soul can be lost. History tells us of nations which lost their souls. They chose the broad way which leads to death. It is undeniable that nations can go to hell. Several of them went to hell in the World War, and the hell was far worse, and far more real, than the one which Dante pictured. Nations can go down to Hades. Nineveh and Babylon, Memphis and Thebes all went down. Mighty empires, proud and wealthy, old and honoured, can dissolve

and leave not a rack behind. The soul of a nation, on the other hand, can be saved. There are nations whose life has been extended through many centuries, and the gates of death have not prevailed against them. How long they will continue to survive no one knows. A nation may save its soul for many generations and lose it at last. The nations which lived here before the white man came all lost their souls. Shall our republic die as they died?

A nation acts through a group of its citizens to whom political authority has been committed, and this group is known as its government. The government is Christian or non-Christian or anti-Christian, according to the temper and the ideals of the officials who comprise it. A nation Christian in character may have for a season an un-Christian government, and a Christian government may occasionally be guilty of an un-Christian act. Governmental groups like individuals fall into divers temptations and are often led astray. It is the glory of democracy that the whole people are called into power. Democracy is government of the people by the people and for the people. Every

citizen shares in the sovereign power. Up to the limits of his influence each citizen is responsible for what his nation does. If the government becomes corrupt it is because the individual citizens become careless. If the government is continuously selfish in its dealings with other nations it is because the voters choose to have it so. We have no hereditary rulers. No man can get into office unless the people put him there. We have no officials elected for life. No man has an indefinite tenure of public office. Even our President cannot remain in the White House more than four years without asking the people's permission to remain longer. The sojourn of a Representative or a Senator in Washington city is short unless the people choose to extend it. If our government pursues an un-Christian course it is for the people to rebuke it and bring it back into the Christian way. If the majority of the people are Christian there is no reason why the government should continue to do un-Christian things. If our government at any time becomes shabby and mean it is not in our stars but in ourselves that we are to look for the cause of

our disasters. The people of the United States have the privilege of building Christian principles into all of their institutions, and they have the power to compel their government to pursue a course which shall be according to the mind of Christ. Can there be in our country Christian government? Yes, just so soon as we have a Christian people who have learned how to elevate Christian men to office. There is no reason for despair. Democracy makes it possible for a nation to become Christian in all its ways. The way to make a government Christian is to make the nation Christian, and the way to make the nation Christian is to make the people Christian, and the way to make the people Christian is to make men and women Christian one by one. It is only when the spirit of God enters into the hearts of the people that a nation stands on its feet saying, "Lo, I come to do thy will, O God."

From the days of Abraham on, the Hebrew race never got its eyes off the national ideal. "I will make thee a great nation," said God to Abraham as an inducement to him to turn his

face toward the west. "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." So God spoke to him in order to cheer him along the way. This conception of a holy nation, a nation dedicated to work out in its life the character and will of God, haunted the Jews throughout their entire career. It was a dream from which they could not get away. Again and again they lost sight of the gleam and forgot their earlier vows, but the prophets always brought them back again, and the constant word from Jehovah was: "You shall be my people and I will be your God." The inspiration of the Hebrew race was the vision of a holy nation. The vision of a Messiah was vague and intermittent. The vision of a holy nation was constant and vitalizing. Religion to a Jew was national. It was in his nation that the individual Jew found sustenance and strength. It was because he was a member of a people that he possessed his religious rights and privileges. It was through his relations to his people that salvation came to him, and in the material and spiritual prosperity of his people he found his proof of the Divine favour.

The songs which the Hebrews loved especially to sing were national songs. Songs like the 105th and 106th Psalms were always on their lips. In the Psalter you have observed the constant recurrence of two words—Jacob and Israel. Those were the two favourite names for their nation. They were always singing about their nation because they held their nation in their minds. Because it was always in their minds it sank deeper and deeper into their hearts. Being deep in their hearts it came out in public worship. Our national hymns are few in number. We do not sing them often. We are not trained to link our country in our mind with God. Until we do this our nation cannot become deeply or powerfully Christian. Our political officials are not to us what they really are, ministers of God. We have no hesitancy in calling pastors of our churches ministers of God, but we shrink from applying that title to our Governors or our Senators. We never apply it to our aldermen or our selectmen. A cardinal or a bishop is called a servant of Christ, but we do not apply that word to the President of our republic. We

call him a servant of the people. A servant of the people he is, but he is first of all a servant of Christ. "The powers that be are ordained of God." Democracy has emerged in human evolution because it is the will of God that through that form of organization the political ends of society shall be attained. In that form of government God has made it more easily possible for a nation to become the servant of his Son. It was a Christian Jew who wrote the last book of our Bible. When he came to describe the consummation of human history he sketched a shining city into which he saw the rulers of the earth bringing the glory and the honour of the nations. Each nation had amassed a wealth of treasure in the form of character and achievement, and each one brought its own distinctive culture and distinguishing gifts and graces into the organic life of a race which had kept the faith and finished the course. When this dreamer saw the Tree of Life he observed that its leaves were for the healing of the nations. It is God's will that men shall live together in national groups and that in this group life they shall

develop the soul to its utmost and show what human life is at its best. Nations have a fixed place in the unfolding plan of the Eternal. It is God's unalterable intention that the entire human race shall be conformed to the image of his Son, and that every nation shall be his servant in the glorious work of establishing the Kingdom of Love.

II

A CHRISTIAN NATION: ITS IDEALS AND OBLIGATIONS

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The ideals of a Christian nation are the ideals of a Christian man. The ideals of a Christian man are the ideals of Jesus Christ. The ideals of Jesus Christ do not change when they are carried from one field to another. He is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever, and he is the same here and there and everywhere. All the laws of God are universal. The law of gravitation operates on the North Star just as it operates on the earth. The fact that the North Star is larger than the earth does not alter the conduct of the force of gravitation. The multiplication table is as valid in China as in Denmark. The size of the country exerts no influence on mathematics. Beauty, truth, and goodness are the same in all parts of God's dominion. The standards of excellence set up

by Jesus of Nazareth are for individuals and groups of men also. Men do not lose or change their nature when they work together in groups. The ideal which is good for one man is just as good for a thousand or a million men. It may be a group of ten men organized as a business corporation, or a group of a hundred wage earners forming a labour union, or a church of two thousand members, or a city of a hundred thousand citizens, or a nation of a hundred million people—in every case the ideals remain the same. In them there is no variableness, neither shadow of turning. If you would know the ideals of a Christian nation, become acquainted with the ideals of a Christian family.

Duties are determined by ideals. If the ideals are low the duties are few, and they grip the conscience feebly. If the ideals are high the duties are multiplied, and the word "duty" takes on a solemn and inexorable meaning. The ideals of Jesus are lofty, the highest ever proclaimed by a religious teacher. He allowed the eye to rest at no point this side of the excellence of God. "Ye shall be perfect," he said,

"as your Heavenly Father is perfect." The supreme motive he offered to men was the desire to be like God.

Even for the individual it is impossible to come up to the ideals of Jesus. His disciples were constantly amazed and dumbfounded by the demands he made on them. "Who then can be saved?" was the pathetic cry wrung again and again from their despairful hearts. "Lord, increase our faith!" was their passionate exclamation when they found themselves suddenly face to face with a duty which they had never met before. Even St. Paul, after years of growth in the Christian life, confessed to his Philippian converts that he had not yet attained but was pressing forward in an effort to approach more closely the ideal which God had set before him in Christ.

But ideals are less easily realized by groups than by individuals. Even a religious group organized as a church and enjoying all the means of grace is always falling short of what we feel a Christian church ought to be. It is always doing things which it ought not to do and leaving undone things which it ought to do.

The larger the group the more lamentably does it lag behind. Industrial and commercial groups move like snails. Political groups are notorious for their delinquencies and aberrations. States fall so far short of idealism in the conduct of state business that most men have become cynical in regard to the possibility of any high morality in the conduct of public affairs. Selfishness is what is universally expected, and the expectations are seldom disappointed. Statesmen of long experience are often incorrigible cynics. They have had opportunity to find out the fickleness and superficiality of the masses of the people, and when one nation deals with another its spokesmen must give heed to the caprices of public opinion rather than to the dictates of an enlightened conscience. The political history of nations is disheartening reading. Even the best men are tempted to become opportunists, and statesmanship often becomes a tissue of evasions and compromises. "Politics is the second best" was a favourite remark of John Morley. He might have added that it is often the third best and even fourth. It is difficult to keep the

moral tone high in political discussion, and a great gulf yawns between profession and accomplishment. There is no pessimism so dark and so bitter as that to be found in the world of international politics. When one sees how nations have habitually thought of one another, and lied to one another, and tried to gain the advantage over one another, one is tempted to conclude that Christian ideals are only toys to play with, and that the time will never come when the spokesmen of nations will be willing to accept Jesus of Nazareth as a practical guide.

But Jesus is the true Lord of nations whether statesmen accept him or not. When they refuse to act on his principles they are kicking against the pricks. The human race is one. That is a fact which cannot be altered. The same kind of blood flows in the veins of all men. That, too, is a fact which cannot be evaded. There is one Heavenly Father, and all men are potentially brothers. Those are two facts which even though often rejected are certain to become the head of the corner. There is such a thing as the family of nations.

This is not a figure of speech but a reality. It is not a fiction of philosophy but a fact built into the structure of the world. Just as God has set the solitary in families, so has he organized humanity into nations and set the nations in a family for their discipline and development. No two nations are alike in temper or in aptitude or endowment. Each one has its own distinctive bent and genius, and each one has its own specific work to do. Each nation evolves according to the law of its own being, giving the forces of human nature a chance to develop in a different way, enabling the universe to see on a wider scale and in a more wonderful manner the manifold wisdom of God. With scientific accuracy we can say that mankind is an organism, all its parts interrelated and interdependent, all the nations being organs of one body. St. Paul's language concerning the Christian church is just as true of the body of the race. The nations are members, and God hath set the members every one of them in the body as it hath pleased him. The eye cannot say unto the hand, "I have no need of thee"; nor

again the head to the feet, "I have no need of you." Nay, much more those members of the body which seem to be more feeble are necessary. Whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it. That is the ideal!

The nations constitute a family. As idealists we have a right to say that. As realists we must confess that the family is often a menagerie, a cage of wild beasts, snarling at one another. The zoölogical conception of nations has been more common than the human conception. Nations have not acted as though they were members of a family but barbarians, enemies of one another. But the ideal is not to be surrendered because we have not reached it. It does us good to gaze upon the ideal even though it has never been realized in actual life. It does us good to talk about the family of nations even though the family feeling is spasmodic and faint.

If we wish to know the obligations of a Christian nation we cannot do better than make a study of a Christian home. It is the

attitudes and dispositions of the members of a Christian family which are to be built up in the members of the family of nations.

Let us glance for a moment at what we find in a home which is genuinely Christian. First of all there is a sense of oneness. The whole family belongs together. The husband belongs to the wife, the wife belongs to the husband, the parents belong to the children, the children belong to the parents, the brothers and sisters belong to one another, and all belong to God. They constitute one body, and they are in very truth members one of another.

Along with this sense of unity there exists a fellow feeling. The members of the family feel with one another. Mutual sympathy is one of the outstanding features of every Christian home. If one member of the family is sick or in trouble all the members suffer with that member, and if one member is honoured all the members rejoice with him. To rejoice with those who rejoice and to weep with those who weep is instinctive with those who live within the four walls of a Christian home.

This fellow feeling is accompanied by a willingness to act together. Coöperation is a principle acted on daily. The family does team work. Each one helps the others. Each one becomes the servant of all. Mutual helpfulness is the very soul of family life. Without it a home is not home.

This mutual service is carried oftentimes to the heights of sacrifice. Members of a family, if truly Christian, lay down their lives for one another. Parents when Christian do not think solely of themselves. They do not count their own comfort dear. It is their delight to make sacrifices for their children. Their children, when truly Christian, do not think always of themselves. They mind the things of their parents. Filial sacrifice is as beautiful as parental sacrifice, and both are essential if the home life is to be complete.

In a family there is constant concern for the weak. If there is an invalid he is given special consideration. Everyone becomes his servant. If there is a cripple everyone offers needed assistance. If there is a baby in the house, the baby becomes the guest of honour. The whole

household revolves around him. Everything gives way to the baby. The baby is helpless, and his helplessness constitutes an unescapable claim. He is weak, and the strong owe to him their strength. He is dependent and therefore must not be neglected. It is the law in all families that the youngest and weakest must be placed first.

But family life is not at its best without some of the graces, one of which is considerateness, the habit of taking into account another's feelings and wishes. It is a willingness to make allowance for the shortcomings of others. It is a swift ability to put one's self in another's place. Sometimes it is called politeness, and sometimes it is called courtesy, and sometimes it is called thoughtfulness, but no matter what it is called it is always beautiful and absolutely indispensable to the completeness of a Christian home.

There is one other virtue which must not be overlooked: the willingness to forgive. Jesus always insisted upon this as a condition of enjoying access to God. He pushed forgiveness to unprecedented extremes. He believed in

unlimited forgiveness. There is always need in the home for forgiveness, for unwittingly we trespass against one another. Unintentionally we do one another wrong, and we are daily in need of pardon. We misunderstand even those whom we love, we are unjust in our judgments, we hurt when we are not conscious of hurting; and without the spirit of forgiveness the heart becomes hard and life becomes frozen. A home not rich in the spirit of forgiveness is not worthy of the forgiving Christ.

These are the seven dispositions we look for in a Christian home, and these are the seven which must be cultivated in the family of nations. A nation without these dispositions is a defective nation and becomes a stumbling block in the way of human progress. It is bad national dispositions which play havoc with the peace and happiness of the world.

Contrasted with these seven dispositions there are seven others which like so many devils tear human life to pieces. They are fear and suspicion and hate, greed and pride and boorishness and quarrelsomeness. These render family life intolerable, and they are no less

destructive of the life of the family of nations. Introduce fear into the home and the joy of home life immediately vanishes. Let the wife be afraid of her husband or the child afraid of his father or a sister afraid of her brother, and the home life crumbles in ruins. Introduce fear into the family of nations, and you have put an end to the happiness of the world. As long as nations are afraid of one another human history will remain a tragedy. And yet there are men reputedly sane who teach openly and boldly that the first duty of a nation is to make itself feared. Unless it is feared it will not be respected, and unless it is respected it cannot be sure of retaining its rights. Let a nation inspire fear by loading itself with deadly weapons, and it can then do what it pleases and its treasures are safe. Generals and admirals have long taught this, journalists have exploited it, super-patriots have believed it, and the sky has grown dark. It is high time for us Christians to preach boldly the doctrine of love. Love casts out fear. The first duty of a nation is to make itself loved. The forming of friendships is the first duty of

statesmen. Any diplomacy which does not bend its mind to the strengthening of bonds of amity between nations is a diplomacy which this world must get rid of. "The natural man receives not the things of the spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; and he cannot know them because they are spiritually judged."

Fear leads to suspicion. A frightened man begins to suspect. When nations become scared they become gullible. They swallow greedily every floating scrap of rumour and every poisoned bit of gossip. They suspect that some other nation is up to mischief, and they read ominous meanings in phenomena which are harmless. Suspicion leads to ill will. We never like a man whom we suspect. We despise a nation which we surmise is plotting against us. Fear, suspicion, hate—these are three steps in the stairway down which nations descend into hell.

Every nation has its circles of talkative people who are always sinning with their tongue. They say sarcastic things about foreigners. They ridicule the statesmen of other

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countries. They make fun of their customs. They caricature the peculiarities of their people. It is an easy thing to do—to make odious a sister nation. One can poison whole classes of people if he has a tongue which is dipped in venom. With his pen he can irritate the minds of citizens of other lands by writing things which sting and blister. A foolish thing said in England is published promptly in the American press. The newspaper report provokes a foolish remark from some irate American. This remark appears in due time in the British press. That stirs up another retort from some irascible Briton who has no love for America, and his remark being repeated in American circles causes the inflammation to spread. It is by these innumerable pinpricks that the public mind in both countries becomes feverish, and here and there a hot-head falls into delirium. The public boors are even more dangerous than the private gossips. Every country is certain to have in public office at least a few individuals who have never learned the rudiments of good manners. They sputter out whatever comes

into their reckless heads, and often what they say is insulting. Not infrequently men have said in our national Congress things about foreign nations which were inexcusably rude and which left a sting in the minds of people far away. Such remarks are sure to be repeated in many lands, and every time they are repeated they intensify the bad feeling. "The tongue is a fire. It sets on fire the course of nature and is set on fire by hell." It is these busybodies and mischief makers who poison the springs of international good will and drive nations into a quarrelsome mood. It is not difficult to fight when one's blood is hot, and the church has no more important duty than to train its members in good manners, especially in their manners of speech when they speak of foreign nations. A public official who disgraces himself and his country by speaking slurringly of a foreign nation ought to be retired from public office at the next ensuing election. Few offences can be more serious or more irreparable than that.

Mutual sympathy should be cultivated among the nations of both hemispheres. There

is a gulf between North and South America and a deeper gulf between the Orient and the West. There are lesser gulfs between the various nations of Europe. We have not learned yet to bear one another's burdens. It is only when a land is afflicted by an earthquake or a hurricane or a famine or a plague or a vast conflagration that the latent sympathy which lies deep in the human heart finds formal expression. It is then we see for a moment that one touch of nature makes the whole world kin and it flashes on us that we all belong together. Such expressions, however, are occasional and brief, and we soon fall back into our accustomed indifference or ill feeling. Nations should speak often one to another through their officials, not only in seasons of calamity, but also in times of prosperity and victory. Why should nations not congratulate one another as well as condole with one another?

We are learning international coöperation, but it is largely through the efforts of private citizens and non-political associations. The number of international societies is increasing every year, and the hearts of men of many

countries are being knit together by bonds which will not easily be broken. The nations have long been trained by their governments to coöperate in war. The ententes and alliances for war purposes have been numerous if not always effective, but when the nations are baptized more fully into the spirit of Christ they are going to seek a fellowship, not in war but in peace, surpassing in warmth and richness anything hitherto known. We are just beginning to learn the applications of the divine principle of coöperation. How many evils will vanish and how many problems will be solved when once the nations learn to do team work!

We have not yet reached a point in social evolution at which we give special cosideration to a nation because it is weak. We still have an overweening admiration for the so-called "great powers." We are not drawn to a nation because it is feeble or because it needs outside assistance. On the other hand, little nations are likely to be overlooked just because they are small, and the rights of little nations are not always respected, their rights

being trampled on because they are weak. But some day the feeble nations are going to come into the limelight. Their strong sister nations will carry them in. The spirit of Christ is going to become mighty in the hearts of the powerful nations, and they are going to imitate the Good Shepherd and carry the lambs in their bosom. This will not always be a selfish and cold-hearted world. The crimson sin of Christian nations in the past is the way they have treated their backward sisters. Too often they have exploited their material resources and failed to take an interest in their spiritual development. Christian governments have allowed slave dealers and rum agents to prey upon helpless populations, and in more recent times they have allowed the managers of great corporations to wring big dividends from the poorly paid labour of non-Christian women and children. The cruelties and outrages perpetrated on coloured races under the sanction of governments nominally Christian are the blackest blots on the pages of modern history.

We respect weakness in the home, but we

do not yet respect it in the family of nations. Christian nations did not respect it in their dealings with China. Great Britain and France and Germany all alike trampled on her, and they did it because she was weak. China could get no redress, because she was unarmed. She had only justice to plead, but justice was not enough. She relied on reason, but the Christian nations relied not on reason but on force. My cheeks burned one day as I sat on the deck of a steamer bound for Hongkong and listened to the word of a Chinese gentleman and scholar, the president of a Chinese university, as he told me the story of China's wrongs. "China," he said, "is convinced that she can never expect justice from any Christian nation until she is armed. Militarism runs counter to all our traditions and contradicts the teachings of all our sages, but the Christian West has taught the world that civilization rests not on reason but on force, and therefore there is nothing for China to do but to arm." I sat in his presence shamefaced and dumb. I left him pondering in my mind these questions, "Why are there no Christian na-

tions after two thousand years of Bible teaching and two thousand years of Gospel preaching and two thousand years of Christian praying? Why are there no nations which have the mind of Christ?"

When we come to the duty of national forgiveness the faith of the strongest of us begins to stagger. Has any nation ever forgiven another nation which has wronged it? Will any nation in the future ever forgive a nation which has robbed it? Do rulers ever forgive the rulers who have insulted them? Does a parliament ever forgive a parliament which has snubbed it? France never forgave Germany for taking Alsace and Lorraine, and Germany is not likely to forgive France for taking them back again. Will Russia ever forgive Poland, and will Poland ever forgive Russia? Will Bulgaria ever forgive Roumania and Roumania ever forgive Bulgaria? Will Greece ever forgive Turkey or Turkey ever forgive Greece? Is there any religion which can put out the fire of revenge? Is there any power under heaven which can pluck from the memory a rooted grudge? Could the apostles

themselves, if they could return from the dead, induce Kentucky families to lay aside their hereditary feuds or persuade estranged enemies in a New England village to wash their hearts of hate? The doctrine of forgiveness is no doubt beautiful, but is it practicable for a world like this? It is with difficulty that individuals can forgive a wrong done them: for nations to do it seems impossible. We need to listen again and again to him who said that with men some things are indeed impossible, but that all things become possible when men are linked with God. We dare not give up the belief that sometime, somehow, the bitterest national enemies will be friends again.

We must keep, then, the image of a Christian family of nations always in our eye. Science has made the world a neighbourhood. The Christian church must make it a brotherhood. We cannot get on unless we are Christians. We need to heed all the Commandments, but if there is one Commandment above all others which must be obeyed by modern nations it is briefly comprehended in this saying, namely, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as

thyself." Love worketh no ill to his neighbour: therefore love is the fulfilling of the law—nations must love one another. If nations refuse to do this the world is lost.

The whole world is growing and travailing in pain until now, waiting for the emergence of a nation which shall be genuinely Christian. It takes a nation to lead other nations. Only a nation which has the Christian attitude can impart that attitude to other nations. Only a nation which has accepted Christ's scale of values can induce other nations to accept it. Only a nation which accepts Christ's test of greatness can convince other nations that the test is sound. The traditional test is physical power. The great nations are ranked according to military and naval strength. "Not so," says Jesus, "shall it be among you. If any one would be great among you, let him be your minister, and whosoever would be first among you let him be your servant." The idea of domination was hateful to the heart of Jesus. "The rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them, and their great ones exercise authority over them." That is an attitude to be avoided. No

nation can hope to survive which does not renounce the ambition to dominate the world. There are pagans in this country who chatter about our dominating the North American continent, and there are pagans in England who gabble about dominating the sea, and there were pagans in Germany who gloated over the prospect of dominating all Europe, and there are pagans of several countries who think it would be glorious to dominate the Pacific. All such talk is un-Christian and silly. A nation, to be great, must be the servant of nations. The ideal nation is the nation which serves. That America may be a servant is the prayer of all Americans who have the mind of Christ.

There are various practical applications of the principles we have been considering. The question of national sovereignty is to-day at the front. Many are zealous for national sovereignty. It is a fetish, and they worship it. It is a sacred thing which must be forever unimpaired. We inherited it from the past, and we must hand it on to the future. When interpreted, this idea means that we must never

surrender any of our rights. Whatever we have done in the past we must continue to do forever. This loses sight of the fact that we are living in a growing world and that as men make progress in civilization they part with some of the liberty and some of the sovereignty which they once possessed. It is only by individuals giving up some of their early rights that society can get on. We have reached a point in political development when every nation, for the good of the whole world, must surrender some of the rights which it has formerly enjoyed. The nations must bind themselves to do things they have not done and must give up the right to do things which they have been in the habit of doing. In the home we are expected to give up our rights whenever the prosperity of the home can be enhanced by our surrender. Alas for the home in which the head of the house insists on his sovereign rights! America can afford to lose some of her rights if by giving them up she can help humanity forward. It is true of a nation as it is of a man that whoever wishes to save his life shall lose it, and that whosoever is

willing to lose his life for the attainment of a higher end will save it.

The nations must come to the Christian view of vital interests. To a materialist there are no vital interests but physical possessions. The militarist is always talking about vital interests. He is thinking of colonies or of markets or of material treasures. But commercial interests are not the only interests which are vital. Every nation has an interest in the welfare of the sisterhood of nations, and this higher interest must be safeguarded with zealous care. The interests of a few investors and promoters are as nothing compared with the spiritual interests of the whole human race. These last must be guarded at all costs.

A nation truly Christian will obey the Golden Rule when it writes its tariff legislation. The advice which Paul gave to the church in Corinth when he said, "Let no man seek his own, but each his neighbour's good," has never been heeded by the authors of our tariffs. Tariff makers can be fairly described by a sentence Paul made use of in his letter to the Philippians: "They all seek their own, not

the things of Jesus Christ." A statesman of a Christian nation is almost sure to scorn the idea of taking into account the welfare of foreign workmen and their wives and children when it comes to signing a tariff treaty with that nation. The stronger nation will dictate terms and get them no matter how unfair or galling. When the recording angel has read the tariffs which the United States has written he has no doubt dropped many a tear. In no other branch of our legislation have we been more continuously and abominably selfish. To increase the size of the fortunes of our manufacturers and merchants we have ridden roughshod over the just claims of foreign populations, eager for one thing only, to put money in our purse. Nations fight one another by their tariffs, and some of the bitterest of the world's contests go on in the realm of trade. The principle of justice is lost sight of, and as for mercy, it is not known. When men are in search of raw materials and new markets they fall deaf to the Sermon on the Mount.

The difficulty of a big nation being considerate of the interests of a little neighbour

may be seen in the record of our dealings with Mexico. Mexico is like us a republic and has the advantage or disadvantage of living next door to us. She is ignorant and small and weak and poor. For years she has been harassed by hostile forces which have made her progress slow. Her problems are many and baffling, and she has long been in desperate need of sympathy and inspiration. But what has her big, rich, prosperous neighbour to the north done for her? Mexico has lain for generations stripped and bleeding by the roadside, and we, like the Priest and the Levite, have looked at her and passed by on the other side. Nobody has ever intimated that we are a good Samaritan. Our capitalists have rifled the pockets of her mountains and hills, taking out as much treasure as they have been able to carry away, but the United States government takes no interest in Mexico outside of oil leases and trade concessions and the property rights of Americans who have gone to Mexico to make money. To assist the Mexican people in their noble struggle to climb, we Americans, outside of a few of our churches, have not

lifted a finger. Our churches have been far more interested in Africa and China and India than in our little sick neighbour who lies at our door. We have not hesitated on occasion to send into Mexico our soldiers to kill Mexican boys. We are always keen to our rights—especially our property rights—and blear-eyed to our duties. When an American Christian reads the story of our relations to Mexico through the last hundred years he cannot keep out of his ears the reverberations of words spoken long ago, "Inasmuch as ye did it not unto the least of these, my brethren, ye did it not unto me."

In its immigration policy a Christian nation has the opportunity of showing what spirit it is of. The whole question of immigration is a complicated and disturbing one. For its solution wisdom from above is sorely needed. But the only wisdom often in stock is earthly, sensual, and devilish. The wisdom that is from above is pure and peaceable and gentle and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits. It is difficult, however, even for Christian men to exercise such wisdom. Our treat-

ment of the Orient has been more than once discourteous and even insulting. When we have shut the door we have not done it softly, but have slammed it, accompanying our action with the discords of shrill and scolding words. No thoughtful American believes in unrestricted immigration even from Europe, much less does he believe in immigration without limit from Asia. Every nation must safeguard the traditions and institutions entrusted to it and must not jeopardize its treasures by a reckless opening of its doors. Should foreign and alien populations be allowed to flow in on us like a flood the higher values obtained by our fathers by long sacrifice and struggle might be submerged. Those who contend that every human being, no matter what his race or culture, has the heaven-given right to settle in the United States at his own free will are not giving evidence of being reasonable men. The people of Asia are different from us. They live on a different economic level. They have customs and traditions that are different from ours, and therefore their entrance into our country must be regulated with care.

There are hundreds of millions of them and they might swamp us. For our own sake, and for the sake of the Orientals, and for the sake of the whole human family, the question must be handled with discretion and patience. We must explain to our Oriental neighbours the complexities of our problem and make the reasons for whatever steps we take unmistakably clear. Frankness and courtesy and gentleness are essential when one is dealing with questions which readily heat the blood. Whatever valid arguments may be urged in defense of the Oriental exclusion act passed a few years ago, it cannot be denied that the law was passed in a bad temper and in a needlessly irritating manner. The Japanese are a proud and sensitive people, and they are always open to the appeal of reason. We shall never have any difficulty with them if we only show the friendliness and considerateness of Christ. All international difficulties dissolve in the magical alchemy of the Christian spirit.

A nation to be truly Christian should be ready at any time to join hands with its sister nations in carrying out great enterprises for

the general good. Before the World War we had international anarchy. There was no parliament of man, no federation of the world. There was no Supreme Court and no code of laws universally accepted. Every nation did what was right in its own eyes. It was because of this anarchic condition that the world was drenched with blood. We had machinery to fight with but no machinery to make peace with. At the close of the war men of vision and courage saw that a new step must be taken, a daring experiment must be attempted. There must be an association of nations entrusted with the task of safeguarding the peace of the world. All the nations must join together in some sort of organization in order to establish justice, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to all. It was in the brain of an American President that this idea found fertile soil. Along with statesmen of Europe he elaborated a scheme which became known as the "League of Nations." Into this scheme the nations of Europe promptly entered, but the government of the United States refused

to go in. It was kept out by vote of the United States Senate. As a nation we refused to follow the leadership of our own President and disappointed our friends in Europe. Our Senators were honourable men. They were honest and able and patriotic. They did what seemed to them best. They voted as they did partly because they were partisans but chiefly because they lacked the international mind. They did not possess the world outlook. Their horizon was narrow. Their thinking was parochial. They were unable to think in the terms of international life. Because of dimness of vision their international conscience was dull. They lacked the ideal and therefore they did not feel the pressure of the duty. As a nation we lack the international mind. We have only a rudimentary conscience in the realm of international conduct. The fact that neither political party in the last presidential campaign dared to touch with the tip end of a finger the greatest of all problems, the problem of leaguing the nations of the earth for the conservation of the higher interests of mankind, is conclusive proof that we are young yet in the

sphere of international thinking and that we do not know how to apply Christianity to life in its highest forms. If as a people we felt keenly our international responsibilities, our leading men all over the country would speak out. Our state and city officials would speak out, and so would our merchants, and so would our journalists, and so would our preachers. They would cry out trumpet tongued, in season and out of season, against the disgrace of our failure to go into the World Court, and the tragedy of our refusal to become a member of the League of Nations. The greatest of the world's republics standing outside the door of the League, with Russia and Mexico and Turkey, is a spectacle to make the angels weep. America stands branded as recreant to her trust in one of the greatest crises in the history of the world. Fortunately, nations can repent. America can yet change her mind. America can grow in grace. America can develop her conscience. It is permissible to hope that America will still take her place at the council table of the world. That is her Christian duty!

The enormous responsibilities of our country come into view as soon as we think of our size and wealth and power. God has not dealt so with any other nation. There is no other nation in all the world like our own. We cover the middle zone of a wide continent extending from sea to sea. We have natural resources which are illimitable. We have in our banks more than half of all the gold in the world. We have a people amazingly alert and competent and resourceful. What our republic does makes a dent in the policy of the world. What America thinks modifies the world's thinking. What America puts on or takes off sets the fashion up and down the streets of the world. Unto the nation to which God has given much, from that nation shall much be required. To us he has given immeasurable power, and we are to use that power for his glory. We use it for his glory only as we use it for the advancement of the moral and spiritual interests of the race his Son died to save. It is for us to go foremost in every good word and work. If we lead, other nations are sure to follow. If we take great risks for God, other nations will take

risks, too. If we dare to do an original thing, other nations will copy us. This is why we ought to take the lead in progressive disarmament. We can lead with less damage to ourself than can any other country. We are really forty-eight nations bound together in a huge bundle of life. We have a continent so rich in its varied resources that we are self-supporting. We have a genius for the creation of machinery and an unsurpassed talent for organization and are protected by the two widest oceans, so that there is no reason for fear of any other nation or any combination of nations which might rise up against us. We can, if we will, lay aside the cumbrous armaments inherited from the past. We can break once for all the military tradition. We can adopt a new policy. We can make out a new programme. We can lead humanity along a new path. We have just recently renounced war as an instrument of national policy. We have done it in conjunction with fourteen other nations. It is now time to begin the work of progressive disarmament. We ought to lead the way. We ought to quit quibbling with Great Britain

and other nations over the number of cruisers and the size of the guns and the capacities of the submarines and the airships and say to the whole world: "We will go no further in this business!" We should usher in a new day. Peace is a world ideal. It has shone before the eyes of men since the days of Isaiah. The generations have never ceased to dream of the time when nations would make war no more. We as a nation can hasten the day. Working for peace is a Christian duty. Let America begin to-morrow to scrap her ships of war and say to all the nations of the earth, "Follow me!"

III

THE CHURCH IN SOCIAL REFORM

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The Nineteenth Century will be memorable in Christian history as the century in which the social gospel received a thrilling emphasis. Through the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries the individual was the cardinal object of Christian thought. The supreme work of the Christian church was the conversion of the individual soul. The dominant conception of the mission of Christianity was set forth in fadeless colours in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, and that gripped the conscience of the Western Protestant world down to the middle of the Nineteenth Century. God and the soul were the two supreme realities, and thoughtful Christians concentrated their minds on these.

But seventy or eighty years ago it began to be apparent to men with open eyes that the Christian church was not proving equal to the

task which was set before it. The conversion of individual souls did not seem to be enough. Their sanctification did not bring in a better world. The relations of man to man and of groups of men to other groups remained largely pagan under the shadow of the churches. The individualistic philosophy so long dominant began to lose its grip on the more vigorous thinkers. The individual was discovered to be an abstraction. He has no existence apart from society. We become persons only in communion with one another. An isolated human soul is an impossibility. No man lives to himself, and no man dies to himself. Both in life and in death he belongs to the Lord of life who sets men in society. Man is by nature a social being. It is in society that he lives and moves and achieves his growth. He is a part of the social organism, and without harmonious relationship to that organism he can do nothing and be nothing. If, therefore, a man's life is to be truly human his social environment must be sound. The social atmosphere must be wholesome if the soul is to prosper. The relations by which men are bound to one another

are all-controlling, and men lift their fellows to heaven or drag them down to hell. Human beings are bound in bundles of life, and these bundles must be sanctified if the world is to become God's world.

The church has something more to do, therefore, than to consider the soul's relation to God. Its relation to other souls is of equal importance, and society is the subject of redemption. Unless society is redeemed the complete salvation of souls is impossible.

Gradually Christian thinkers began to bend their minds to the problems of the town. They got their eyes on customs and organizations and institutions. Some of these were bad, always blocking the progress of the cause of Christ and undoing the work which the church was attempting to accomplish. For instance, the excessive use of alcoholic liquors was in every community an evil. In many a family it was a biting curse. The appetite for drink was stimulated by the presence of the saloon, an institution which made it easy and pleasant for men to drink with one another. The saloon became increasingly aggressive and destruc-

tive. For many years it was combatted by the efforts of individual men and women who strove to convert the saloon keeper and to save the souls of the drunkards who reeled daily out through the saloon doors. It was a discouraging work, a work that failed. The number of bartenders steadily increased, and so did the number of drunkards. The saloon was a social evil of expanding dimensions, and it was evidently necessary to deal with it by concerted action. It was not simply the individual saloon keeper who had to be overthrown, but the whole organized mass of distillers and brewers and wine merchants and bartenders bound together by ties of financial interest and exercising a power which was corrupting city politics and degrading the life of the community. Individual protest and opposition were futile. Communal action was indispensable. The church as an organized body of right-minded people had to move against the saloon as an institution and by civil legislation cast it out of the town. Some corporate evils can be overcome only by corporate action. One man alone or a thousand

men each acting alone can avail nothing against an entrenched and determined foe. Bushwhackers are of no avail against a disciplined army. As soon as the church set its face like flint against the legalized saloon the fate of the saloon was sealed.

The experience gained in wrestling with the saloon opened the eyes of many to other social evils. By doing the will of God in overthrowing one social evil men came to understand better the teaching of the New Testament. New light broke from God's ancient Word. Christians came to see that Christianity is a social religion and that it moves toward a social goal. That social goal is named the Kingdom of God. The Kingdom of God is society perfected. It is the social order redeemed from everything which defiles and works abomination and makes a lie. For this ideal world order we are to seek with all our heart. We are to seek for it first of all. For it we are to pray. We are to keep it in the forefront of all our petitions: "Thy Kingdom come; Thy will be done on earth." For it we are to work till the sun goes down. For it we are to sacrifice even all that

we have. It is not a social order to be established in the skies. It is to stand foursquare on the earth, a glorious city of God. We are to bring it down out of heaven by our labours and sacrifices and prayers. It is not a form of society to be enjoyed solely after death. It is even now at our doors, and we can go into it as rapidly and as far as we are willing to go. As defined by St. Paul it is justice and harmony and good will, all bound together in the bonds of the Holy Spirit. The Kingdom of God is society under the sway of love. It is the community dominated by the spirit of justice and mercy and affectionate good will. Salvation is offered not simply to a man here and there. It is offered to the town. It is offered to the nation. It is offered to the whole world. The church is not a huge Noah's ark picking up a few struggling survivors who have flung themselves from the deck of a sinking ship, it is the hand of God working through the servants of his Son to save the ship itself. It is not a fireman ordained to pluck an occasional brand from the burning, but a mighty Saviour endowed by the power and grace of God to put

out the fire and save a world which God created for his glory.

After a while Christians began to speak of the social gospel. Some called it the "new" gospel, thereby arousing criticism and opposition, for men said, "The old gospel is good enough for us. We want no new one." But it was not a new gospel in the sense that it denied or displaced the gospel written in the Scriptures. It was a wider interpretation of the old gospel. It was an extension of the old gospel of God's redeeming love. It was the spreading of the old gospel over greater areas of life. It was the application of the principles of the old gospel to wider spheres of human conduct. It was the carrying of the light of the old gospel into regions which had lain hitherto outside the boundaries laid down by Christian leaders. It opened a new era in the life of the church. It put a new vocabulary on the lips of Christian men. The word "social" at once advanced to the chief place at the Christian feast. A Christian could not keep his tongue or his pen off that word "social." Everything became social. Men talked of social uplift and social welfare and social

betterment and the social programme and the social gospel and the social conscience, and some went so far as to talk about the social God. Even the Deity was socialized. Social service became the be-all and the end-all of Christianity. It was another name for religion. It was the only religion which in many circles was counted up-to-date. It was the one and sufficient religion. All else was negligible. Even public worship was no longer necessary. To sing and pray to God was a waste of time which might better be spent in social service. Creeds became taboo. Theology was a useless science. Dogmas were decried and abhorred. It was often said that it does not matter what one believes. All God wants is social service. Social settlements were established in the slums of our great cities, and in many of these settlements founded and conducted by Christian men the name of God was never mentioned and the voice of prayer was never heard. These things were considered non-essential by those who had been baptized into the new religion of social service. Social service became a fad. It was fashionable to engage in

it. Representatives of wealthy and cultured families took delight in spending an evening or two every week in social settlement work, and many found joy in this new religion to whom religion in its traditional form had proved irksome or unendurable.

The sparkling enthusiasm of those early days has well-nigh disappeared. We have come out again into the light of common day. We have come to see more clearly than we did the limitations and significance of social service. We have come to understand that it is a larger term than it was on the lips of many who formerly used it. It had often meant nothing more than a form of ministry to the poor. To engage in social service was to gather round one a group of boys or girls from the submerged classes and entertain them by games or music or gymnastics, or teach them some useful form of handiwork. It was on this wave of social service enthusiasm that the so-called institutional church came into power. We now see that that particular form of Christian activity is only a small fraction of the social service which the world needs to

have done. And we have come to see also that public worship cannot be dispensed with, neither can the creeds be tossed on the scrap heap. Christianity is something to be believed as well as something to be done. Theology is the queen of the sciences. Public worship will never be outgrown. The time will never come when it will not be wise for men to meet together and bow down before their Maker in confession and thanksgiving. The poor are always with us, and to minister to them will remain a cardinal feature of the church's mission, but multitudes who are not poor must also be served, and without this larger and multiform service society can never be fashioned after the mind of Christ.

But in this pentecostal season of limited and superficial social service there came a vision to the church which will never fade. We now have the social vision. We look upon the world as the subject of redemption and our abiding concern is with the problems of society and with the programmes by which the world may be delivered from its woes. We shall never fall back into the old narrow ways of reading our

New Testament. The New Testament is easily misread, and when misread it works mischief. It is easy to read it in such a way as to leave one cold to all noble causes. There are Christians—not a few—who take no interest whatever in any measures looking to the amelioration of conditions now existing. They are convinced that the end of the world is approaching and that it is futile to attempt to set the world in order. The world, they contend, is growing worse and worse, and it is folly for men to think that they can make it better. The world is doomed, and all we can do is to wait until God lays bare his mighty arm. All reformers are deceived or deceivers, and all schemes of reformation are worse than useless. World courts and leagues of nations are tricks of the devil. Our duty is to pray and to wait. It is only by waiting on the Lord until he comes to wind up the shabby affairs of this miserable world that the heart can find consolation and peace. The people who think this are diligent readers of the New Testament. They read it but they do not understand it aright. Others also misread it and allow their

minds to be narrowed and their usefulness curtailed. They think only of their own salvation. It is not to be wondered at that the Gospels and Epistles have misled many. It cannot be denied that Christ and his apostles confined their attention to the one man. The New Testament is strongly individualistic, from the first page to the last. It never faces social problems or suggests ways of getting rid of social evils. "What wilt thou that I do unto thee?" That is the question always on the lips of Jesus. In his parables it was nearly always, "A certain man"; not a group of men, but one man who illustrated what he wanted to teach. When one day a man in the crowd asked him to take an interest in social justice the man was forced back on his own covetous heart and left there. Jesus was in no sense a social reformer nor were any of his apostles. The man of Galilee did not lift his finger to modify the policy of imperial Rome, nor did he attempt to change the social customs or political institutions of his own Jerusalem. There is not a word from Jesus against war; not a word from any apostle against slavery. Pal-

estine swarmed with reformers but Jesus joined hands with none of them. Zealous leaders were waiting at every corner to overthrow hated abominations, but Jesus passed them by unnoticed. He was not an insurrectionist nor a reformer. He had a different kind of work to do. It was his task to convince men that they must be born again, that the springs of their life must be sweetened and that their motives must be purified and their wills made stronger. He laid the ax at the root of the tree. He was intent on laying an immovable foundation. He would lay it in the individual heart. He, therefore, dealt with one man at a time.

In beginning any great work you must begin with one man. In planting a forest you must begin by planting one tree. In kindling a conflagration you must begin with one spark and one handful of faggots. Jesus began in the only way that was open to him. He began with one man and then passed on to another and then to a third and then to still others. When he died he had only a handful of disciples, and they were social nobodies without education or genius or influence and therefore

incapable of making a dent in the social or political customs of their day. They could not remould anything. They lacked the necessary strength. A few insignificant peasants could not lay their reforming hands on old Jerusalem and bend it to their will. The Roman world stood like adamant before them, and to change it in any of its policies or programmes was a sheer impossibility. There was nothing for the apostles to do but to devote themselves to the reformation of the one man. That is all which Christ himself did. He was the wisdom of God. In other words, he was a consummately sensible man. The New Testament from first to last is a sensible book. There is no nonsense in the Gospels or in any of the Epistles. Jesus did everything which it was possible for him to do. He was a thoroughly practical man. He planted a few seeds. He was sure they would grow. They did. He kindled a few fires. He knew they would spread. They did. He set in motion a few minds. He was sure they would go on. They did. He laid a foundation. He was sure that others would build on it. They did. He kept close to the individual heart, knowing

that out of it are the issues of life. All that he could do in the few years allotted him was to fill with his ideas a few receptive hearts. With just a few hearts kindled he knew that in time there would be a world conflagration. With only a dozen men instructed he could count on all the nations being taught. The New Testament is a book of beginnings. It tells us how Christianity started. It informs us what Jesus began to teach and to do. It does not tell us what Jesus intended to do in the generations which were ahead. He never took time to unveil the future. He filled the living present full. He had done a few wonderful works, and before he died he assured his disciples that they were going to do works far more wonderful than any he had done. He had taught them a few things, all of them elementary, but his spirit was going to abide in them, and by that spirit they would be instructed in all which they needed to know. It is often said that Christianity is the religion of a book. In one sense this is true, but in the deepest sense it is not true. It misrepresents Christianity and has more than once blocked the progress of the

church. Christianity is not a religion of a book but of a Spirit, of the Spirit, of the Spirit of God, of the Spirit of Jesus, whose New Testament portrait is indispensable, and that Spirit is forever leading men into wider spheres of thought and action. To assume that Christianity now must do only the things which Jesus did, and to imagine that preachers are doing their full duty when they repeat only the words which the apostles wrote is to reduce Christianity to a form of tyranny and to blight the aspirations and intuitions of forward-looking men.

The church has been studying and working and suffering through more than nineteen hundred years, and through all those years it has been learning more of the mind and purposes of the Eternal. To assume that the church knows no more now than it knew when it was a baby, and that Christians should attempt no more now than they did when they were just getting out of the cradle, is an insult to the Christian church and a denial of the fundamental teaching of our religion. The forms of Palestine are not binding on America,

and what was adequate in the First Century is not adequate to-day.

"New occasions teach new duties. Time makes ancient good uncouth.
They must upward still and onward who would keep abreast of truth."

They must upward still and onward who would do the work of Christ. We Christians are no longer a feeble band. We have become a mighty army. Our members are numbered by the tens of millions, and we can put a host—any host—to flight. Republics and empires are now within our power, and we can leave the prints of our hands on customs and institutions. Nothing is too difficult for us. Nothing is too big to attempt. We can take up the nations as a very little thing. We possess a large part of the wealth of the world. If money is power, we have it. We possess a large part of the learning of the world. Our scholars and thinkers are the peers of the greatest. If knowledge is power, we have it. We possess the promise of Christ that we shall be able to cast out demons. If promises of the Son of God give inspiration—and strength, then we have it. With this vast

army of believers woe be to us if we hide behind the example of the apostles and count ourselves faithful servants if we keep on singing,

> "When I can read my title clear to mansions in the skies,
> I'll bid farewell to every fear and wipe my weeping eyes."

With all of our money, shame on us if we are content to do only what the moneyless apostles did. If without silver and gold they turned the world upside down, what shall we say on the Day of Judgment when we are asked why we allowed society to go on in its wicked and godless career? With all our science and philosophy and art and knowledge and learning, how does it come that we do not have wisdom enough to lead humanity out of its distresses and to build a city which shall suggest at least a few of the characteristics of the City of God? We possess the weapons which are mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds, but many of the strongholds are not yet down. The church does not reform the theatre, the movies, the press, literature,

business, politics, public opinion, diplomacy. They all need to be reshaped, remoulded, refashioned, reinvigorated, transformed by the renewing of their mind. But the church reforms nothing. A world reformation is overdue, and the church of Christ is God's ordained reformer. Christians are salt. They must keep society from rotting. Christians are light. They must keep society from tumbling into the ditch. In every community the church should take the lead. It should point out the direction in which the town is to move. It should name the demons which are next to be cast out. It should sound the key on which the town is to sing. It should feed and nourish a public spirit by which the town is to be swept into the gulf current of the Eternal purpose.

In saying this let no one infer that the individual is to be overlooked or forgotten. It is the one man who is the starting point in every reformation. It is the individual who is the corner stone of every reconstruction. Do you want a better church? You must have better individuals in the pews. Do you want a stronger and more effective pulpit? You must

have stronger individuals to expound the Word of God. Do you want a nobler city? You must have nobler individual citizens. Do you want a cleaner town? You must have individuals with cleaner hearts. Do you want a more godly nation? You must have more godly men and women in our streets and homes. It is the individual who must be cleansed and set on fire, and as soon as he has given himself to God he must be set to work with other men to bring about a changed social order. Men are not good unless they are good for something. Men are not good unless they do good things. By their fruits God knows them. And so do men. Out of each individual Christian heart there flows a stream of living water which, combining with other streams from other individual hearts, forms the mighty, onflowing river of God.

In the work of world reformation the minister of Christ must lead the way. By the will of God he is a leader, and to be a leader means to run into danger. A leader always runs the risk of getting into trouble. He is certain to be criticized and disliked. He is often ridiculed and

jeered at. He must make himself of no reputation. He is a prophet, and like all the prophets he will not have an easy or a pleasant time. Jesus was familiar with the history of the Hebrew prophets, and he knew what they endured. When he called men to follow him he never concealed the hardships to which he summoned them. He told them frankly that they were to be like sheep in the midst of wolves. "Blessed are you when men shall persecute you!" He warned them not to expect to do their work in tranquillity but to count on bitter opposition and on controversy so fierce that it would tear families to pieces. He foretold the slander and vituperation and abuse which were sure to come, and he intimated that for some of them death would be the price which must be paid. He assured them that if they really understood the kind of world they were living in they would rejoice in the midst of persecution because they were privileged to enter into the fellowship of the greatest teachers and benefactors of the race. The minister, then, who wishes to lead his congregation in the work of social reform must

say good-bye to all expectation of continuous popularity. He will be suspected by some and disliked by more and hated and lied about by not a few. Even good men will lie about him and despise him. If he is a reformer he cannot speak always smooth words. He must call things by their right names. He must lift up his voice against things that are wrong in social and economic and political life. He must denounce injustice, and scourge greed, and lash impurity, and pour out the vials of his wrath upon cruelty. He must hold up to scorn dishonesty and hypocrisy and lying. He must warn the frivolous and lazy and proud. The fools in his parish will all make a mock of sin, but he must speak of sin as Jesus spoke of it. The so-called sensible men of the town may not worry about their sins, but in his eyes sin will always be heinous, linked with an awful retribution which cannot be escaped.

Let no man go into the ministry who is afraid of men. The pulpit coward is the greatest handicap from which the church of God suffers. Men too timid to speak out are unworthy of the man who died upon the Cross

because he refused to keep still. Jesus admired and demanded courage. "Don't be afraid"—the exhortation was always on his lips. We expect courage in an army. In time of war everyone knows that cowardice is contemptible and unpardonable. The preacher is always on the battle front. He is always being fired at, and the extent of the opposition to him is measured by the force which he brings to bear against those who love evil. If he whispers he may escape; if he lifts up his voice like a trumpet he is doomed. "If any man will come after me let him take up his cross and follow me." That was said for every Christian, and especially for preachers. The church of Christ is cursed by cowardice in the pulpit and in the pew. We shall have more reformations when we have more reformers, and we shall have more reformers when we have more heroes in the pulpit. What difference does it make whether a man is a B.A. or an M.A. or an S.T.B. or a D.D. or a Ph.D. or an LL.D. if he is a coward?

When society gets sore at any particular spot it is especially hazardous for the church

to lay its finger upon that spot. If the irritation extends to inflammation nearly everybody concludes that it is better to let the matter alone. Churches are easily split, and when once split it is well-nigh impossible to weld the fragments together again. Pulpits are easily lost, and when a pulpit is lost in a time of dissension another pulpit is not easily gotten. Everything conspires to render church members cautious and prudent. The saints are averse to stirring up trouble and if you do not want to stir up trouble it is best to leave controversial question alone. The only live questions are controversial questions. Two illustrations will be sufficient. Race prejudice is one of the most inflammable of all the emotions in our modern world. You can start a blaze almost anywhere and at any time by poking the embers. Races are separated from one another by chasms which it seems impossible to bridge. Races do not like one another, especially if they differ in colour. The feeling of racial revulsion is one of the deepest and strongest with which Christianity has to contend. There is no controversy as to the teaching of Chris-

tianity on races. To Christianity humanity is one. All men are brothers. There is only one God and there is only one human family. All human beings are the offspring of a common parent, and their feelings toward one another should be fraternal and friendly. The whole world knows that Christianity is theoretically a religion of brotherly kindness. The Gospels breathe the spirit of sympathy and tenderness and good will. Jesus was not content to call the commandment, "Love God," the great commandment until he had linked with it the commandment, "Love thy neighbour as thyself." He always thought of men coming from every direction to sit down together in the Kingdom of God. He had a kind heart for Syro-Phœnicians; he had no antipathy to Samaritans; he poured out upon a Roman one of the most generous of all his eulogies. We cannot think of Jesus of Nazareth as making racial distinctions in his attitude to men. They were all children of his Father, all precious in his eyes and all deserving of sympathy and service and love. The fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, on these two doctrines

the Christian religion has rested from the beginning.

What was taught by Jesus was taught no less emphatically by the greatest of his apostles—Saul of Tarsus. The converted tent maker had a heart as wide almost as the heart of Jesus. Wherever he went all men were his brothers, and it thrilled him to think that in the church of Christ all men became one. All the distinctions which the world had made were wiped out. All the walls of partition were demolished. All the ancient prejudices and antagonisms were burned up in the flame of a great love which Christ had kindled. "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female, for all are one in Christ Jesus." This is the plain teaching of the Christian religion. It is the glory of the church that it is the home of all men. It is the mission of the church to bind human hearts together across the boundaries of nation and culture and race. All this is axiomatic. All this is agreed to by all who understand the text-book of the Christian religion.

But throughout the Christian world this fundamental teaching of Christianity is openly and persistently flouted. It is steadily and unabashedly ignored, not by the pagans outside the churches, but by many of the confessed followers of Jesus. Not a few of the saints confess boldly that in their hearts the old antipathies still abide. Christian men and women in large numbers treat those of another race in a manner which one would deem incredible in anyone who had ever heard the name of Jesus. If this feeling and conduct were confined to the hoodlums at the bottom of society it would not be so alarming, but it is found often in the upper circles of the best society which has been developed under the influence of the Christian church. It is found within the church. Even when representatives of different races are included in the company of communicants of one congregation—all professing alike to be followers of the Lord of Love—there are sometimes manifestations of feeling which prove that the spirit of Jesus has not yet taken possession of all hearts which confess his name. The hopelessness of the situa-

tion becomes all the darker because those who are guilty of such conduct are not conscious of having surrendered the faith. They suffer no compunctions of conscience and have no sins on this score to be forgiven. Well may the infidel sneer, and the worldling conclude that the average Christian is a hypocrite, professing one thing and practising another.

The problem exists in many lands. No one who has travelled through India is likely to forget the treatment often meted out to the natives of that country by English Christians, nor can one get rid of memories of indignities heaped upon Chinese by professing Christians in China. But we need not go out of our own country for abundant proof that the spirit of Christ has not yet leavened very much of the American lump and that an enormous amount of work yet remains to be done by the Christian church in Christianizing racial relations. Our treatment of the Negro is scandalous. It is talked about all over the world. Several years ago, on falling in with a company of Bedouin Arabs near the northern end of the Sea of Galilee, I was astonished to have them

tell me the number of lynchings in this country the year before. I spent an evening once in the city of London with a hundred Indian students. They were more interested in our treatment of the Negro than in any other subject. I never had a more uncomfortable hour in my life. The feeling against the Negro is commonly supposed to be more intense in the South than in the North, but the difference is due not to a difference in the nature of Americans in these two sections of the country, but to the enormous numbers of Negroes in the South and the great mass of memories inherited from slavery times. If there were as many Negroes in the North as there are in the South the clashes in the North would be even more numerous than those in the South, and if there were the same danger of Negro political dominance in the North as there is in the South, passions would be as hot in Massachusetts as they are in Mississippi. It is not a sectional sin but a national sin, which we have to repent of and get rid of. In no great city of the North will a first-class hotel open its doors to a Negro, and it matters nothing what

kind of a Negro he is. He may be highly educated, a graduate of Harvard or Yale, noble hearted, with a brain superior to that of most white men, but he is, nevertheless, cast out because his skin is black. This is a national disgrace. This is an insult to the Christian religion. This is an outrage which the church of Christ ought to put an end to. In many cities it is not possible for delegates to a great Christian convention to sit down together at a banquet in any first-class hotel because of a difference in the colour of the skin. The men are all alike in disposition, character, ideals, and convictions, and yet they cannot eat together because they belong to different races. They can say the Lord's Prayer together, but they cannot eat together. That brutal and inexcusable piece of barbarism will be banished as soon as the united church of Christ speaks out.

But it is not Negroes alone who suffer this unworthy treatment. Coloured people of every race are treated in the same way. It is not because the Negroes were once slaves that we treat them so snobbishly, but because they

are black. We treat the Filipinos in the same manner because they are brown. The Japanese and Chinese and Indians all fall under our reprobation, not because of anything they have done, but because they are coloured. I found educated and refined Chinese in China who refuse to visit America because they have heard what their fellow countrymen have suffered here. It is difficult for a Chinese to get justice in this country, and it is no easier for a Japanese or a Korean. Even our courts do not seem to be able to defend the foreigner if he is coloured. It is not easy for an Oriental to receive courteous treatment in any part of the United States. All over the country there are thousands of Americans, well bred and Christians at heart, who are certain to deal kindly with any Oriental who chances to fall in their way, but this does not do away with the lamentable fact that all over our country there are people ready to deal boorishly with any Oriental who crosses their path. A white man can travel anywhere through any country of the Far East and be sure of courteous and hospitable treatment wherever he goes. It is

not true of an Oriental who travels in Christian America. Here the best hotels close their doors against him, as do also our high-class restaurants. He is not welcome in any assembly where our best people congregate. Even in some of our churches he is looked at askance and asked to sit in a corner. We give him the cold shoulder again and again and he returns home disappointed and sometimes embittered. He cannot understand Christian America. He has learned what Christianity he knows from the missionaries. He had been taught that in Christianity all men are brothers. He came to a Christian country and was treated like a vagabond and outcast. It may be he was a scholar, or a man of high character, honoured and loved in his native land. Perhaps he was a man of great ability and high standing, but all this counted for nothing because his skin was not white. Christian America revealed to him its pagan side. He goes home perhaps an unbeliever and a cynic for the rest of his life. He had heard much in his own country about the American church, its size and its wealth and its tremendous influence for good. He has

found out at last how little the American church has been able to accomplish with the heart of the American people, and he concludes that the sacred teachers of the East are mightier than is Jesus of Nazareth. One trip through Christian America undid all that the missionaries had accomplished.

And so all over the East there are Indians and Chinese and Japanese who have no use for Christianity. There are no more bitter cynics anywhere than Orientals who have been made cynical by the behaviour of Americans. There are no more implacable enemies of the Christian church than Orientals who have been made infidels by the conduct of Americans who claim to be followers of Jesus.

This is one of the running sores of the world. I would call it a cancer, but a cancer is a disease which cannot be cured. I will not call it a cancer, for all diseases can be cured by the Great Physician. I will call it a pus sac generating poison which is flowing through the veins of the world. How to get rid of this plague spot of evil is one of the world's most serious problems. No more baffling problem

confronts the Christian church. It can scarcely be said that the church as a whole has yet got its eyes on it. Let us pray that its eyes may be opened before it is too late. A mighty iniquity cannot be overcome by a puny effort. It takes the full strength of a giant to accomplish a giant's work. Here is a job which will demand the concentrated strength of the entire church of God. Let every preacher preach, let every teacher teach, let every father and mother exhort, let every evangelist plead, let every church official speak, let every Christian high and low, rich and poor, educated and illiterate, talented and mediocre, famous and obscure, lift his voice in one mighty chorus against this infernal spirit of racial prejudice, this slimy and deadly serpent in the garden of our Lord!

A second gigantic evil is the spirit of lawlessness. As everybody confesses, we are a lawless people, probably the most lawless people to be found anywhere on the planet. We have always been lawless our historians inform us. There are scholars who insist that we are not to-day as lawless as we used to be. This causes us to wonder how the republic has succeeded in

surviving. Certainly lawlessness is to-day rampant. It is rank, it smells to heaven! Our daily papers have become daily chronicles of our crimes. It is our criminals who fill the front pages of all our daily papers. But the evil is not confined to our full-fledged criminals. It extends down to all classes of our people. As a people we have little respect for law. We break a law as often as we dare. If no one is looking, the breaking of a law causes us no compunction. Law to us is not a sacred thing. It is even smart to break a law and escape the punishment. This is the prevalent American temper. Where it is going to carry us no one can predict.

The most conspicuous instance of lawlessness now before us is that furnished by the widespread defiance of the Eighteenth Amendment. In all our large cities the Eighteenth Amendment is openly set at nought and possibly no city is more reckless in its lawlessness than the capital of our country. Men in high places drink openly at banquets, and men highly respected make sport of the law. Women in high social circles serve liquor at

their dinners. Prominent business men joke about the latest success of their bootleggers. It is not the riffraff of the slums who are making sport of prohibition, but the lords and the ladies of respectable American society who are jeering at all methods of enforcement and dancing in glee on the fragments of the broken law. There are Christian laymen in large numbers who are to be found in this guzzling company, and a preacher now and then ventures to take his place on their side. Many preachers are silent. They know that the subject is not popular and that any discussion of it might stir up a feeling which would do incalculable harm. There is many an ordained leader of the church who does not realize that we are drifting toward the rapids. Lawlessness is a serious matter in any country, especially in a democracy. In a democracy our only security lies in obedience to law. There is nothing between us and anarchy but law. Break down the law and we are exposed to all the forces of chaos and black night.

About the danger and sin of lawlessness every preacher can preach assured that he

is speaking with the authority of God. When he insists on obedience to the law of his country he can be absolutely sure that he is right. In exhorting all his hearers to respect the law and obey it he can be certain he is doing what is wise. He is never more thoroughly a safe and sound Christian leader than when he is dwelling on the sacredness of law and the necessity of obedience to it.

Before the Eighteenth Amendment was passed it was a debatable question as to whether such an amendment would be wise. Noble-minded men held different opinions, and some of our greatest legal scholars thought it inexpedient and even perilous to write that amendment into our Constitution. When it comes to prescribing the best method for the management of the liquor evil no minister can speak with absolute authority. His judgment is human, and like all things human it is not infallible. There is room for difference of opinion in regard to the most efficacious measure which can be adopted to combat the evils of drink. All sorts of methods have been tried, and not one of them has succeeded.

All have failed, some more lamentably than others, but all of them have disappointed those who put their trust in them. The law of national prohibition was not dictated by angels and no one can repeat it and then say, "Thus saith the Lord."

But the American people after long and patient deliberation wrote that amendment into the Constitution by a larger majority than any preceding amendment had ever received, and for years now it has been a part of the sacred law of the land. As our law it must be obeyed. We must all obey it. We must condemn all those who disobey it, and also those who ridicule the officers whose business it is to enforce it. It is a dangerous and un-Christian thing to make light of law. A man may work to repeal it but he must not disobey it. A Christian may not believe in the wisdom of it, but he must not trample on it.

A Christian American is well within his rights when he criticizes a law he does not believe in and does his utmost to have it changed. But a man is not a good churchman

or a safe citizen who habitually breaks a law.

These are great social evils, and it is on the great evils that the church of Christ must wage continuous and unrelaxing warfare. It is only by getting our eyes on the great things that we can keep our minds from being dissipated by undue concern about things which are little. One of the most demoralizing of all the sins of which the church can be guilty is the sin of pettiness. Christians too often waste their time and strength on matters which are microscopic. If we do not burn up our energy on problems of vast import we will sputter and fizz and seethe and fume over trivialities. It is only when we grapple with enemies which are colossal that the whole force of our nature is enlisted. The religious people of Jerusalem did not know what zeal was until Jesus of Nazareth drove the traders out of the temple. Those traders were lawbreakers and for years they had broken the law, and the temple officials and the best people in the city had connived at their lawlessness; but when at last a man appeared who understood the sa-

credness of law, and who realized that what was being done in the temple was inflicting a deep injury on the life of the whole world, he cleansed the air by the fierce lightning of his eyes, and the cringing culprits slunk away like guilty things afraid. The disciples never forgot the scorching flash of his eyes. The one sentence in the Old Testament which came to their mind whenever they thought of the events of that unforgettable day was, "The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up." Many a sordid and hoary-headed evil would melt, thaw, and resolve itself into a dew, if only the church of Christ had more of the fire of Christ, and would burn with fervent heat against the laurelled iniquities of our day. The exalted and conquering moods cannot come into the soul so long as the soul is occupied by petty ambitions and tawdry enterprises. We must bring our eyes up to Christ's style, and when we do that we shall see Satan like lightning falling from heaven. If the church wishes to tone up its intellectual life, and cleanse its moral life, and put iron into its spiritual life, if it wishes to know the rapture of liberty

and peace and power, let it keep away from the bickerings and squabbles which have too often disgraced it and advance boldly into the arena of moral reform where the strongest of the devils are to be fought with and immortal crowns are to be won.

IV

THE CHURCH IN NATIONAL POLITICS

IV

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Ought the church to go into politics? Whenever the question is asked a swift answer comes back, "No! Let the church attend to its own business! The church must keep out of politics. In this country church and state are forever separated, and it is not only un-Christian but un-American for the church to have anything to do with politics." That is the popular answer, and a great many sensible people think the answer is correct.

But here and there a radical voice dissents, declaring that it is right for the church to go into politics. Not only is it right, but it is its duty to go in. This voice goes on to assert that the present low condition of politics is due to the aloofness of the church from political affairs, and that the situation will never be better until the church pays closer attention to this department of national life.

Between these two voices there is a vast company of the silent, men and women who do not know what to think. They surmise that the church had better keep out of politics, and at the same time they do not know how to answer the argument of those who plead for the right of the church to go in. Their minds are confused, and they are not able to decide on which side of the question wisdom lies. Many ministers are puzzled, not knowing what to think or do.

In the recent presidential campaign there was a furious controversy over this question. There were those who declared almost with tears that the church had disgraced itself by going into politics, and there were others who stoutly maintained that to its shame it had not gone in far enough. Others did not know whether it was really in or not. They did not know whether to applaud or to condemn. Again and again some political or ecclesiastical Solomon rushed into print to express his mind on the subject, and before the campaign was ended we were in a welter of confusion, some rejoicing that for the first time

in American history the church had openly gone into politics, while others were shedding tears over that lamentable fact.

This division of opinion ran through the clergy as well as the laity. Ministers of the Gospel did not agree on the matter, and clashing opinions appeared side by side in the newspapers. The ordained teachers of religion did not see eye to eye on a matter of momentous concern. They gave a confused and uncertain sound. It was not surprising, therefore, that laymen were bewildered. They also took opposite sides, and in some parishes there was pandemonium.

Now that the campaign is over and the national pulse has become normal again, it is fitting that both ministers and laymen should think the whole problem through and arrive, if possible, at a clear-cut and satisfying conclusion. It is a question which is certain to come up again and again, and it is likely to come up more frequently in the future than it has in the past. It will always be a vexatious and divisive question, stirring deep feeling and provoking sharp speech, and it behooves

the leaders of the church, both in the pulpit and out of it, to ponder carefully the problem in all of its bearings and work out a solution which is based on sound reason.

In order to make progress in the discussion of any vexing and complicated problem it is wise to begin with a definition of the terms which the debaters propose to make use of. A vast amount of controversy would have been avoided if this simple rule had been followed. Men often imagine they are opposed to other men when in fact they are not opposed at all. They differ simply in the phraseology they are using. They start out with giving diverse meanings to the cardinal words of their argument, and being confused at the start they stumble along in darkness and come out where they went in.

When the question is propounded, "Ought the church to go into politics?" the first thing to settle is the meaning of the word "church." When you say "church," do you mean simply the pulpit or do you mean the laity also? Do you mean the local congregation, or the entire denomination, or the holy universal church

of Christ? The word "church" is an ambiguous word. It has many meanings, and we use it constantly in a variety of senses. A church to most of us is a building. We say they are putting up a new church, or the old church was torn down, or the church is beautiful, or the church is shabby. But in the New Testament sense of the word the church is not a building at all. There are no church buildings in the New Testament. The church as used by Christ and the apostles is a body of people. It is only figuratively speaking that we can call a building a church. Sometimes it is a body of people worshipping in one place. To use another word, it is a congregation. At other times it embraces all the followers of Christ. In our day the word "church" is commonly used as a synonym for "pulpit." You hear people say, "Oh, if the church would only speak out!" Such persons mean if the pulpit would speak out. They refer ordinarily to the preachers of their own town. Those few preachers constitute the church. Or they say the church is belated. They mean that Dr. So-and-So is belated. Or they say it

is a disgrace for the church to teach such and such nonsense. They mean it is lamentable to have this minister or some other minister say the things he is saying. It is frequently affirmed, for instance, that the church is against evolution. What is meant is that a certain preacher in Dayton, Tennessee, and also a few other preachers of similar type throughout the country, are hostile to the Darwinian hypothesis. It is nonsense, however, to say that the American church is opposed to evolution. How do you know? The church has never spoken on the subject. An individual here and there has spoken, but the church of Christ has not spoken. The church can speak only through her appointed organs, and she has not spoken in this way. When in the last campaign it was said the church had gone into politics, all that was meant was that a few preachers were making political speeches in their pulpits. A minister here and there had gone into politics, but the church had not gone in. When we speak the word "church" we use a large word. We ought to be careful how we speak it. When

you say, "Why does not the church do something?" what do you mean? Do you mean anything at all? Or is your question simply an explosion of the nerves?

And so we must make up our mind in regard to the way in which we are going to use the word "church." Several years ago Dr. William Newton Clark in his *Outlines of Theology* defined "church" as "the Christian people." He dropped the word "church" and substituted for it a term which he liked better. He did not like the word "church" because it had so many connotations and implications and carried with it so many disquieting associations and meant so many different things to different groups of Christians, that he felt it was better so far as his immediate purposes were concerned to get rid of the word "church" altogether. He chose to call it "the Christian people." Let us adopt for a moment his definition and ask, "Should the Christian people go into politics? Should all the men and women who confess allegiance to the Son of God go into politics?"

We cannot answer the question until we

find a definition for politics. This is also an elusive and difficult word to manage. The dictionary says it is the science and art of government, but that is not what we mean when we speak of politics in everyday conversation. We refer to practical politics. Practical politics is shaping political programmes and determining political policies and nominating and electing political officials. It is the business of creating and running our civic machinery. Should the Christian people, do you think, go into that sort of business? Should the whole aggregation of Christian believers go into it? Should every Christian man go in, and should every Christian woman go in? Should every follower of Christ give earnest heed to political programmes and policies and use his influence in placing in office the best possible men? Should everyone who is pledged to the extension of the Kingdom of God give conscientious attention to the direction of civic affairs? Is a Christian because of his faith exempt from political responsibilities? Is a spiritually minded man released from concern about political matters? Has a Chris-

tian performed his complete duty when he has said his prayers and paid his debts, including his pew rent, and been faithful to his wife and kind to his children? Or has he a further duty which can be performed only at the ballot box? His citizenship is, as Paul says, in heaven, but is it also on the earth? Is he a citizen not only of the Kingdom of God but also of the American Republic?

The answers to these questions ought not to be difficult. A man cannot be a good Christian unless he is a good citizen, and he cannot be a good citizen unless he shoulders his civic responsibilities. He does not shoulder his civic responsibilities unless he votes. Democracy demands that every citizen shall do his part in ordering the affairs of the state, and no exemption is granted on the score of religion. It is the duty of every citizen to go into politics, and especially is it the duty of the Christian. It is because his citizenship is in heaven—because it is rooted in the divine cosmic order—that his citizenship on earth becomes so significant and compelling. If it is the duty of one Christian to go into politics

it must be the duty of all Christians to go in. But all Christians together make up the Christian church. It is, therefore, the duty of the church to go into politics, to give itself up whole-heartedly to the work of moulding political opinion and selecting the men who are to execute the popular will. Who would dare to dispute that?

But the word "church" in our current speech means an organization. It is an ecclesiastical corporation, recognized by the state. It is organized for public worship and religious work. It has its constitution and by-laws, its stated meetings and its officials. When we speak of the Old South Church in Boston, or of Plymouth Church in Brooklyn, we think of certain men and women organized into compact bodies for religious ends. A group of unrelated Christians do not constitute a church, because a church is not a collection of independent units but a group of Christians bound together by spiritual and legal ties for the achievement of common aims. These local groups are rolled into larger groups which we call denominations.

We speak of the Methodist church or the Baptist church or the Presbyterian church, referring to all the Methodist congregations or Baptist congregations or Presbyterian congregations which are tied up in great bundles of life, bound together by common traditions and beliefs in order that their fellowship may be enriched and their efficiency augmented. A church, then, is an organization either local or regional or national, created for the attainment by concerted action of specific ends. Paul loved to think of the church as a body, the body of Christ. We often think of it as an army: "Onward, Christian Soldiers"—that is one of our favourite hymns. We speak of our companies and our regiments as making up the church militant, the army of the Lord.

Our question now is, Should the church as a corporation go into politics? Should the local congregation as a company in the army of Christ go into politics? Should the denomination as a regiment in the Lord's army go into political battle? Should the followers of Jesus, led by their church officials, with their denominational banners floating over them,

march to the ballot box in a solid phalanx to achieve victory for a particular political candidate or cause? Should the church as a corporation go into the work of deciding political issues on election day?

In my judgment it had better not do this. There are two chief reasons: In the first place, the church is not constituted to perform that sort of work. The church is made up of human beings of all ages and all grades of intelligence and all degrees of culture and all kinds of talent and all measures of wisdom. Thousands of church members have no political intelligence and no political experience and, therefore, if the church is to go into the work of choosing political candidates and forwarding or opposing political measures, the leadership would of necessity fall into the hands of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the body of church officials. Upon them would fall the responsibility of naming the best candidates and sanctioning the wisest policies. But experience tells us this is not a safe course to pursue. An ecclesiastical hierarchy operating in the arena of politics always works mischief. The ex-

periment was tried for a thousand years in Europe, and it always turned out badly. The church and state were in constant collision. The state was hampered in its work, and the church was coarsened in its spiritual life. The men who founded our republic were determined that the European experiment should come to an end. There was to be here no union of church and state. There was to be no state religion. There was to be no religious test for any political office. If any branch of the church, therefore, goes into a campaign under leaders who openly proclaim allegiance to a certain political party, animosity is immediately aroused in multitudes of hearts, and the anti-church prejudice of non-Christians is deepened and extended.

In the second place, church members cannot be brought into unity of opinion on political questions. Not only is it impossible to bring all the members of a denomination into a common opinion but not even can a local congregation be induced to agree in regard to candidates and measures. Many men have many minds, and this is never more

evident than in the course of a political campaign. Good men cannot agree on candidates. They never do, they never can. This is because every candidate is a mixture. In every man good and bad are jumbled. Each man has his strong points and also his weak points, and which points are the dominant points is a matter left to the individual judgment. In their judgments conscientious and high-minded men do not always agree. Two Christians worshipping in the same pew, equally devoted to the prosperity of the Kingdom of God, will on election day often cast their ballots for opposing candidates. If, therefore, a church officially commits itself through its hierarchy to any one set of candidates, it cannot carry its entire membership with it. It will, in spite of everything, cast a divided vote. The church will be split. Moreover, men and women of independent thought do not enjoy having their church impose the will of the majority on the political thinking of the minority. The church is not organized to pick out men for office, nor is it fitted for the difficult and technical work of shaping legislation.

Church members as individuals should be left free to work out their own political salvation unhampered by ecclesiastical pressure. The individual members of the church should be at liberty to join with other like-minded individuals to form whatever combinations they think best. This, then, is my answer to the question, Should the church go into politics? Yes and No. Shall it go in corporally, officially, as an organization? No. Shall all the followers of Jesus, all who belong to the church which bears his name, go in? Yes, by all means, yes.

A question remains. Shall the pulpit go into politics? Shall the preacher advocate in the pulpit the election of a particular candidate? Shall he espouse in the pulpit a particular political measure? He is the moral leader of his people. It is for him to utter warning and give exhortation. As a guide he must endeavour to lead his people in the right way. What is his duty in a political campaign? There are those who say, "Let him speak out, at least on all moral questions. To keep silence is a sin. If a bad man is running for office why should he

not be condemned from the pulpit? If wickedness is to be resisted why should it not be resisted when it presents itself in incarnate form at the ballot box? Why should not a spiritual guide make it difficult for any unworthy man to secure office?" The argument is plausible but hardly convincing. It assumes that the minister is better acquainted with the character of the candidates than are his people, and that he is better fitted than they are to pick out the proper man for each particular office. But the assumption is without foundation. In these days of newspapers and campaign documents and political mass meetings and the radio, the minister does not know more about a candidate than do most of his hearers. He relies, as they do, on what he reads and hears, and the cause of humanity is not likely to suffer greatly if, when he is in the pulpit, he keeps his tongue off the candidates and allows his people to make their own selection. Occasionally a preacher ventures to give a political speech in the pulpit. Such a speech is sure to be reported by the press because such a sermon is exceptional. It is con-

sidered "news" because it is out of the usual order. The normal minister does not do that sort of thing. He knows better. He knows that Americans do not want political advice from the pulpit. They resent everything which smacks of clerical dictation. Of course, no minister can use coercion, but even influence is feared and resented. Laymen do not want to be influenced in the Lord's house on the Lord's Day in their political action. Such is the American temper. It has come down to us from the beginning. We have often heard of the domination of the clergy in the early life of New England. In those far-off golden days the minister was an oracle, and when he spoke no dog dared to bark. Everyone had to do his bidding. Such is the popular impression, but such was not the fact. In the earliest days of Boston there was an illustrious preacher named John Cotton who was the dominant personality of the Boston pulpit. He was a great scholar, an able theologian, and a beautiful saint. Everybody looked up to him. One day he did a foolish thing. He ventured in a sermon to tell his men how they ought to vote

at the coming election. They resented his sermon as an impertinence, and at the ballot box they voted almost unanimously for the other man. A preacher does not ordinarily make votes for the candidate he espouses in the pulpit. He generally loses votes. Men go away saying, "That is none of his business. I am going to vote as I please."

But if we agree that political speeches are out of place in the pulpit, how about similar speeches by the minister outside the pulpit? Should the preacher go into politics in the daily papers or in political meetings or in pastoral visitation? Should he electioneer for a candidate, not as a preacher, but as a citizen? A minister in the pulpit is more than a citizen: he is an official, he is a representative of Jesus Christ. He is a spokesman of the church of God. He speaks for God. He speaks with authority on all matters committed to him by God. He speaks to all sorts of men. Whatever label he may wear on the street, he should wear no label in the pulpit. In the pulpit he must be simply a man. He represents the Son of Man—that was Jesus' favourite title for

himself. By Son of Man he meant man. He did not present himself as a member of any political party or social class or religious sect. He was just Man—humanity stripped of all its artificial habiliments. The preacher represents Jesus of Nazareth. He narrows his appeal when he appears in the pulpit as a representative of any class or party. If men say to themselves while the preacher is preaching, "He is a Republican, or he is a Democrat, or he is a Socialist," the preacher is losing some of the power which God intends him to wield. The more completely man he is the wider and deeper will be his appeal. Moreover, it cheapens a minister when he appears as a spokesman for God and begins to advocate the election of a candidate for some political office. He has no right to do this, for he is giving the weight of his official position to his personal opinion. A man in the pulpit enjoys the prestige which an ancient and sacred institution has to give him. Words from the pulpit have a force which they do not have when spoken anywhere else, because in the pulpit a man is presumably speaking not for himself but for the

whole company of Christians extending down through the centuries. He is speaking for the prophets and apostles and for the Prince of Glory himself, and, therefore, he cannot afford to come down and deal in statements which are debatable or plead a cause which is questioned by some of the best people in the town. His supreme work is to plead for the election of Jesus Christ as king in every one of the kingdoms of life, and when he turns aside to argue in the pulpit for the superior merits of Tom, Dick, or Harry, he does something which is unworthy of an ambassador of the King of Kings. The pulpit is no place for a partisan harangue. The preacher is at his best when he appeals to the universal heart.

But out of the pulpit what are a preacher's rights? Has he a right to think politically for himself? Has he a right to arrive at his own conclusions, or must he think politically in unison with his leading pew holders? Can he dare be a Democrat when his men of prominence are all Republicans? Can he wisely be a Socialist when in his parish Socialism is

taboo? Has a clergyman any political rights which laymen are bound to respect? The answer is, Yes. The preacher has the same rights as the laity. Every American has a right to do his own thinking. If the preacher should not coerce laymen, then laymen must not coerce him. Every preacher has the right to choose his own political party and to vote for whatever candidate he prefers. If a congregation will not grant a preacher this liberty let the preacher shake the dust off his feet against that parish and move on to a place where human rights are better understood and more decently respected.

But how about expressing his views up and down the parish after the fashion of a zealous campaigner, in season and out of season urging his parishioners to vote for his favourite candidate? At this point let him beware. Many things are lawful which are not expedient. Discretion is one of the virtues, and there is nothing so indispensable for a clergyman as common sense. Let him not become a bore. Let him not show a degree of enthusiasm in a political campaign which he seems incapable of

feeling in the season of Lent. It is not a good sign when a minister of Christ can become more excited over politics than over religion. If he burns with fervent heat over the election of a fellow man to some political office, he should avoid giving the impression of coldness in the work of converting men to God. It is not necessary that the preacher should become a political manager, an orator in the political rostrum, a ward heeler on election day. Let other men fill those high and honourable positions while the minister gives himself throughout the political campaign more zealously than usual to prayer and the ministry of the word. The man who unfolds from week to week the principles of Jesus of Nazareth and who keeps the ideals of Jesus burning in the eyes of men is making a contribution to the political life of the town which cannot be easily measured but which is none the less real and eternal.

One other phase of the problem needs to be considered. Suppose that a moral issue is involved. What should the preacher do? Suppose the issue is not economic or social or

technical, but indisputably moral. Should the preacher speak or keep silent?

One can readily think of situations in which it would be difficult for the preacher to hold his tongue. Such a situation was presented in the days of the American Revolution. Most of the colonists wanted to be free. They were eager to cut the bonds which bound them to England. "Give me liberty or give me death" was a sentiment not confined to one heart in Virginia, it burned like fire in every quarter of the land. But it was not universal. There were Colonial Tories, Americans who loved England and who did not want to separate from her, and many of the best people in the colonies belonged to the Tory party. Society was torn to pieces by these two conflicting loyalties. What was the preacher to do? It was a moral question and at the same time it was a political question. Could he leave it alone? What were the churches to do? Could they pass by on the other side? We know what many of the preachers and congregations did. They came out boldly and defiantly for independence. Churches were made

recruiting stations for the cause of liberty. Some of the foremost revolutionists were clergymen. One of them, John Witherspoon, was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. If it had not been for the daring leadership of the ministers of the churches it is doubtful whether the War of the Revolution could have been carried through. For once at least the pulpit went into politics, and the outcome was not disastrous, either for politics or religion.

Seventy-five years later another crisis arrived. Slavery became the burning question of the day. Slavery was clearly a moral question. For years it remained solely a moral question. Sensitive consciences were restless in the presence of human bondage, and Christians in increasing numbers said in their hearts, "This thing is wrong." The number kept on increasing until the question worked its way into politics. It became a political question. A moral question can become political and still not cease to be moral. Men who believed that slavery was wrong wanted to check it, and it could not be checked except by due

process of law. And thus the question forged its way to the front in political conventions. Politicians were obliged to discuss the question from the political stump. The day arrived when it became not only a political question but a partisan one. One party took one side, another party took the other side. Christians differed from one another like other men, and in many localities churches were split. Sometimes the minister was an ardent abolitionist, and his way was not strewn with roses. Sometimes the minister was lukewarm in the cause of freedom, and the more radical members of his congregation rose in insurrection. Those were frenzied and bitter days. Gradually the pulpit was swept irresistibly into the anti-slavery controversy. Although slavery had become a partisan question, many ministers persisted in discussing it in the pulpit and many laymen in the pews insisted that it be discussed there in order that the church of Christ might not be dishonoured by turning its back on a human cry for help. In the election of 1864, in which excitement rose to fever heat, not only ministers but congrega-

tions and even whole denominations came boldly to the front as supporters of Abraham Lincoln, and the result was that Lincoln was triumphantly reëlected. Multitudes of the best Christians in the land felt that to be silent in the House of God on that issue would be disloyalty and that not to speak out with a voice of thunder would be sin. It is generally conceded that the pulpit was justified on that occasion in going into politics. The emancipation of the slave is counted one of the triumphs of the church of Christ.

In our last election another critical situation emerged. A great political experiment was put in jeopardy. The cause of prohibition seemed to many to be at stake. The prohibition of the liquor traffic has for generations been considered by our people a moral question. Millions of Christians believe that it is wrong to sanction by law the traffic in intoxicating liquors. The nation, after a discussion extending through more than fifty years, finally voted to outlaw the liquor traffic. For many years the drink question was entirely moral. Men signed the temperance pledge as total

abstainers, and women prayed in front of the saloons for the drunken men who came reeling out of them. But, as in the case of slavery, this moral question pushed its way into politics. The saloon was a growing evil, just as slavery was, and earnest men asked, "How can we check it? How can we curtail its ravages? How can we save society from this blighting curse?" Society itself would have to act. Society must safeguard itself. Society cannot act except through law, and so liquor laws of various sorts were passed by boards of aldermen and by state legislators and by the national Congress. The liquor question remained for years a moral question, but it became more and more political, engrossing the thought of the politicians and demanding the attention of the voters. When the Eighteenth Amendment was adopted the prohibition policy became a fundamental part of the law of the land. At that time it was not a partisan question. The parties did not express themselves either for or against the Amendment. Men were divided in their opinions, and neither party was a unit in its attitude

to the Amendment. But last summer it was made a partisan question. It was made this not by the Democratic party but by the Democratic nominee for the presidency. As soon as he was nominated, Governor Smith frankly told the country that he was opposed to the Eighteenth Amendment and also to the Volstead Act. He wanted both of them repealed. The Republican nominee as frankly told the people he did not want the Eighteenth Amendment repealed. "Our country," he said, "has deliberately undertaken a great social and economic experiment, noble in motive and far-reaching in purpose. It must be worked out constructively." This created a situation unique and perplexing. What were ministers to do who all their lives had been preaching prohibition and who felt that to sidestep it at this crisis would be cowardly? The moral question of yesterday had converted itself into the partisan question of to-day, and what was the prophet of the Lord to do? Was he to forsake a moral question because someone had dragged it into the arena of party politics? Various denominations had year after year

passed resolutions in their national assemblies supporting the Eighteenth Amendment and urging on the faithful the duty of putting men in office pledged to the honest enforcement of the prohibition law. What were the editors of the religious papers of those denominations to do? Were they to go on attacking the enemies of prohibition, or were they now to stand dumb in the presence of the most formidable enemy of all? What were bishops to do, who again and again had in episcopal letters exhorted their brethren to be true at the ballot box to the cause of prohibition? Had the time now arrived when silence would be golden? It was a bewildering situation. Is a preacher under such conditions justified in attacking a candidate from the pulpit?

The question became more vexatious because of the religious affiliations of the Democratic nominee. He was a Catholic, and the question arose: Is it right or wise for a Protestant clergyman to oppose a Catholic candidate for the presidency? Would this not give the impression of religious bigotry? Would it not be construed as a veiled attack on the

Roman Catholic church? If the Protestant pulpit attacked a Roman Catholic candidate, would not this solidify the Roman Catholic vote? And, moreover, would it not sow the seeds of future ecclesiastical strife? Would not the slumbering bitterness of the country be stabbed wide awake and would not bigotry grow to new stature? It is not often that a question so puzzling is presented to the Christian conscience. Many thoughtful men sat down before it seven days, baffled and dumb. There seemed to be sound reasons on both sides. It looked as though great good might be accomplished by a thrilling appeal to the church through the pulpit and religious press to stand by the principle of prohibition and vote against the political leader who had showed himself to be its most clever and implacable foe. It looked also as though lasting injury might be done to the cause of religion should the ministers of the Protestant churches allow themselves to be swept into an anti-Democratic crusade. When reasons are so evenly balanced, the result can be confidently predicted. Some men are sure to

adopt one course of action, and some are certain to follow another. One cannot tell in advance how any particular individual will decide. Men equally intelligent and equally well informed and equally consecrated and equally wise will move in diverse directions. And that is what they did in the recent campaign. The clergymen of the country on the whole kept out of the political controversy. No denomination North or South took official action in regard to the way its members should vote. No denomination issued a command. No denomination gave official advice. No denomination put itself on record as being opposed to one candidate and in favour of the other. The church, then, did not go into politics. It did not join officially in the work of elevating a particular man to the White House. It did not as a corporation call upon its adherents to come to the rescue of the Eighteenth Amendment.

Nor did any congregation, so far as I know, take corporate action in regard to the matter. The churches as organized bodies did not go into politics. The church buildings were not

used as recruiting stations for a particular party. In every congregation, perhaps, there were persons who voted for all the three leading candidates. Probably no congregation of even one hundred souls was a unit in the last election.

But, nevertheless, there is a widespread impression that the church did really go into politics. This impression is largely due to the fact that a few ministers in various parts of the country espoused in their pulpits the cause of their chosen candidate, and it was these ministers who were given the largest publicity in the public press. It is the minister who does the exceptional thing who is sure to be noticed in the headlines. The average minister did not go into politics, even though the provocation to do so was greater than it is likely to be within the next hundred years. Only a small minority of the two hundred thousand Protestant ministers in this country talked politics from the pulpit in the last campaign.

Why did the majority keep out? First of all, prohibition was not the only question in-

volved. There were at least half a dozen other important questions in people's minds, and voters were led to vote as they did by their attitude toward one or another of those questions. Mr. Dawes, for instance, said that continuous prosperity was the dominant issue. Mr. Hughes said that the equipment of the two nominees was the dominant issue. Mr. Norris, of Omaha, said that water power was the dominant issue. Mr. William Allen White said that the Tammany oligarchy was the dominant issue. Mr. Owen D. Young said that the temper of the two candidates was the dominant issue. Thus there were multitudes who voted for Mr. Hoover who wanted the Eighteenth Amendment repealed, and there were other multitudes who voted for Governor Smith who disagreed with him entirely on the subject of prohibition. If a minister urged his people to vote for Mr. Hoover he was assuming that prohibition was the only issue at stake, for it would be solely because of the minister's belief in prohibition that he would feel justified in delivering a political speech in the pulpit. He could

not bring in farm relief or the tariff or Boulder Dam. Nothing but prohibition would cause him to take sides in the pulpit in a political campaign. But a minister of the Gospel has no right to assume that he knows better than any of his laymen what is really the dominant issue in an election. He may think that prohibition is the dominant issue, but a layman equally intelligent may think otherwise. Moreover, it is reckless for a minister to assume that he can pick out the better man. Each candidate has his own gifts, fitting him for the office he is seeking, and which man has the larger number of such gifts is a matter of judgment on which men equally discerning are not likely to agree. It is always hazardous to extol any man from the pulpit. The only man whom the minister can properly urge for election is Jesus of Nazareth.

In the second place, the ministers of the country on the whole refused to take sides in the pulpit because they were unwilling to do themselves what they would not like to see others do. If a Protestant minister has the right to oppose a Catholic candidate from his

pulpit (no matter on what grounds), of course a Catholic priest has a right to oppose a Protestant candidate from his pulpit. If a Protestant bishop can take the stump and urge his fellow citizens to vote against a Catholic candidate, even though the bishop declares that Catholicism has nothing to do with it, then a Catholic bishop or archbishop has the same privilege, and should he go up and down the land exhorting the voters to vote against a Protestant candidate no word of protest could fairly be offered. But we Protestants know that if Catholic priests should urge their congregations to vote against a Protestant candidate, and if Catholic cardinals should issue a letter calling the faithful to do their utmost to keep a certain Protestant out of the White House, we should all deprecate such action as unwise and even dangerous. Some of us would resent it with considerable heat. We should feel that Roman Catholic ecclesiastics were rushing into a field from which it would be better for them to keep out, and that the Church of Rome was taking another step in its avowed campaign to make

America Catholic. One thing is certain—we cannot make one rule for Catholics and a different rule for Protestants. Protestants and Catholics stand in this country on a common footing. What is right for one to do is right for the other. What is wise for one is wise for both. Not until a Protestant can view with complacency Roman Catholic priests and bishops and cardinals working in their pulpits to achieve definite political results should he be willing to wink at his Protestant brethren who in their zeal to accomplish a particular end are willing to convert their pulpit into a political stump and try to influence the outcome of an election.

But while the church as a corporate body should keep out of politics, and while the man in the pulpit should as a rule also keep out, it should not be inferred that religion and politics are not to be mixed. It is counted an axiom in many circles that politics and religion must not be mixed. That aphorism appeared again and again in the daily papers in the last campaign. It was assumed as a truism which no sensible man is willing to contradict.

But the alleged truism is a falsehood. Religion and politics can be mixed; they ought to be mixed; and they must be mixed if the country is to be saved. What is religion for if it is not to be mixed with life? Until it is mixed with life it is good for nothing. It cannot exist in a vacuum or in a watertight compartment separated from the life of men. As well say "You must not mix your religion with your family life. In your dealings with one another in your home avoid making any use of the ideals of Jesus. Never attempt to apply any of his principles in solving domestic questions. Keep free if possible from his disposition. You must not apply religion to the life of the family." All of which is nonsense. We have outgrown that superstition long ago. Everybody knows that religion and domestic life must be mixed and that the more thoroughly they are mixed the better it is both for religion and the family. The reason we have so many divorces is because of our failure to mix family life and religion.

Religion and social life must be mixed. We all agree to that. Society would disinte-

grate if it were not mixed with religion. Unless religion is mixed with social life, religion turns to superstition and society decays. If politics and religion are not mixed, then politics becomes rotten and religion a farce. And yet intelligent men go on repeating the nonsense that religion and politics must not be mixed. One of the leading papers of New York City said on its editorial page in the last campaign, "Politics and religion do not mix. When they are mixed in the slightest degree the result is bad." This editor spoke oracularly, but he was not accurate in expressing himself. He had in mind probably the foolish act of some minister who in bad taste had said things in the pulpit which had been better left unsaid. With his eyes on that one man the editor calmly asserted, "Politics and religion do not mix."

It is the misfortune of our country that too often they have not been mixed. Until they are more thoroughly mixed than they are today there is no escape from many of our tribulations. It is true that church and state must not be mixed. Each has its own sphere

to fill, and neither one should encroach on the other. When they interfere with each other the result is bad. But politics is not the state, and religion is not the church. Politics is a form of civic activity, working for social ends. Religion to a Christian is the mind of Christ, his ideals, his principles, his dispositions, his attitudes. Religion to a Christian is belief in the God and Father of Jesus Christ expressing itself in conduct after the fashion of Jesus. Would anyone dare say that the example of Jesus ought not to be carried into political meditation and action? Ought not his disposition to be carried into political discussions? Ought not his conscience to be carried into the consideration of political problems? Ought not his attitude to human values to be reproduced in the work of choosing political officials? Ought not his ideals to be kept before us in all our planning for a better town and a nobler nation?

Man is a political animal, as Aristotle long ago remarked. Men organize instinctively and inevitably for the transaction of public business. They choose public officials and tell them what to do. This is politics. It is not easy to

pick out the best possible officials. Nor is it easy to lay out a programme which they are to follow. Only men of high intelligence and sensitive conscience, who are baptized into the spirit of Jesus, can prevent political life from becoming sordid and mean. Religion must be carried into politics. How can it be carried in? Only by religious people. The church must go in—the whole church must go in. It is not enough for the minister to go in. The whole Christian brotherhood must go in. Everyone in the church and outside of it dominated by the spirit of mercy and justice and good will must go in. This is the conclusion of the whole matter: Politics and religion do mix whenever there are men and women ready to do the mixing. Politics and religion can mix. Politics and religion must be mixed. How shall we escape if we do not mix them?

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THE CHURCH AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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The darkest and most disheartening phenomenon in the last thousand years was the impotency of the Christian church in the World War. Not simply in parts of it, but in its enentirety it was a man of straw. The Greek church was good for nothing—absolutely nothing. The Roman Catholic church was paralyzed. For centuries it had prided itself on being an international church binding the nations together, but in 1914 it was disclosed that the Roman Catholic church, so far as binding nations together is concerned, is only a rope of sand. The Pope offered only exhortations which fell on deaf ears. He was as helpless as the humblest parish priest. Catholics slaughtered Catholics on a hundred battlefields, and the world saw how Christians of the

same communion sometimes love one another. The great Lutheran church in Europe hobbled like a cripple, having neither hands nor feet. But it was not more impotent than the Anglican church, and the Anglican church was not more ineffectual than the Nonconformist churches. The Nonconformist conscience did not function. The mighty sects of America were likewise too feeble to keep the United States from slipping into the cauldron of blood. In the presence of this most awful catastrophe of all time the church of the Son of God stood helpless and dumb.

The church did not delay the war. The war came on just as though there were no church. The church did not shorten the war. It dragged its brutal way to its bloody end, and the church did not curtail its duration by so much as a single day. The war ended at last not through spiritual compunction but because of physical exhaustion. The combatants had bled themselves white, and there was nothing to do but lay down their arms. It was not the church which wrote the Armistice or induced the nations to sign it.

The church did not mitigate the brutalities or reduce the atrocities of the war. It was the most cruel war ever waged. The sinking of the *Lusitania* was only one in a long list of fiendish acts which appalled the world. There are scarlet spots on the hand of Christendom that will never be washed away. Men were asphyxiated by the tens of thousands by poison gas. Scores of thousands of men, women, and children were starved to death by merciless blockades. Homes were blown to splinters by bombs dropped upon them from airships, and little children in their cradles were torn into shreds of bleeding flesh and their blood bespattered on the blanket of the night. The red Indians were never so heartless in their warfare as were the representatives of Christian nations in the World War. In the olden times an Indian shot an arrow from behind a tree which might take the life of a single man, or used his tomahawk on the scalps of isolated women and children, but in the World War darts were hurled from behind a cloud which would kill a thousand men at once, and scalps were torn from the skulls of women and babies by in-

struments compared with which the tomahawk was a harmless plaything. The church of God looked on, doing nothing. Through the Red Cross it bound up a few wounds and sent the men back into the trenches to be crucified afresh. It did nothing to reduce the amount of poison gas, or to abolish the use of the submarine, or to check the arm of the monster who hurled death from the skies.

Here, then, is a spectacle which has been burned into the retina of the world's eye forever. The army of the Prince of Peace at a crisis in human history was able to do nothing. No one can say that the slaughter would have been lengthened by so much as an hour if there had been no Christian church on the planet or that the ghastly and unspeakable horrors of the war would have been greater if Jesus had never died on the Cross. There is a handwriting on the wall which everyone with eyes can read. The Christian church has been weighed in the balance and found wanting!

The tragedy deepens as we meditate upon it. This was a Christian war, a war fought by so-called Christian nations. The only two

non-Christian nations engaged in the war played a subordinate part, and would never have gone into it had they not been leashed to Christian nations which dragged them in. The war was conceived on a Christian continent, born in the midst of Christian cathedrals and Christian altars. It was planned and carried on by men who had been baptized in the name of Jesus and in that part of the world in which the Bible had been most faithfully studied and prayer in the name of Jesus most frequently offered. The soldiers who marched to the fields of blood passed statues of Christ on their way, and the chimes of church bells mingled often with the reverberations of the murderous guns. It was a Christian war, fought by Christian nations on Christian soil in the midst of the memorials of the religion of pity and mercy. It was a contest so heartless and savage that even devils might well have been ashamed to engage in it, but all of its instruments of destruction had been shaped by Christian hands, and all its methods of slaughter had been conceived in Christian brains. In a day which pleaded trumpet-tongued for

compassion the church of Jesus Christ was tongue-tied and her arms hung limp by her side. Her right hand was withered!

The tragedy becomes still more appalling when one takes into account the resources of the Christian church, in numbers, wealth, learning, prestige, and power. When one considers the millions of her communicants and the hundreds of thousands of her ordained bishops and archbishops and pastors and preachers and priests, all of them presumably versed in the principles set forth in the New Testament and whose business it was to build these principles into the minds of men, one cannot repress the question: "How could this horrible thing happen?" It seems incredible that at the very centre of the continent on which the ideals of Jesus had been held before men's eyes for nearly two thousand years there should have occurred a four-year-long, beastly, ghastly, hellish orgy of human slaughter, resulting in the death of ten million men. What were all the millions of Christians doing through the four years of the carnage? What were their spiritual teachers and guides doing?

Of what use is the church of Christ if it cannot save nations from hell? Why go on talking about the power of the church if it is impotent when its power is most needed? Why go on singing, "All hail the power of Jesus' name," if he has not sufficient power to keep his followers from butchering one another? Why delude ourselves by calling ourselves Christians when we refuse to do the things which Jesus says? Christ gave his disciples authority to cast out demons. That was one of the chief tasks of their mission. It is the cardinal work of the church in every generation to exorcise evil spirits. It is evil spirits which tear life to pieces and fill the world with misery and darkness. The war spirit is one of the fiercest and deadliest of all evil spirits, and if the church of Christ cannot cast it out, it is not the church which this world needs or a church which intelligent and earnest men will continue to respect. "Why could we not cast it out?" was the agonizing question which the disciples at the foot of the Mount of Transfiguration put to Jesus when the crowd was hooting at them because of their failure to

cast a demon out of a little boy. That is the question which every Christian ought to put to himself and to every Christian he meets: "Why cannot the church of Christ cast out the demon of war?"

It is a question which must be answered, or we are lost. The World War gave the Christian church the heaviest blow it has ever received in its entire career. We do not realize yet the extent of the damage that was done. It will take a hundred years to repair even a fraction of it. It has given all the infidels and materialists and agnostics a new lease of life. Since the war new societies have sprung up, some for annihilating the Bible, others for the spread of atheism, others for the destruction of the family, and still others for the overthrow of the state and the entire social order. Religion is everywhere scouted because the church is in disgrace. You cannot expect men to respect religion if the church is incorrigibly flabby and incompetent. Why have a church at all if it cannot banish a curse, if it cannot put an end to a scourge, if it cannot cast out the worst of all the devils? That question lies

deep in the hearts of millions. It is not always expressed, but it is there, a demoralizing force in the souls of men. Is Christ indeed the promised Saviour of the world, or must we look for another? That is a question which will not down. Multitudes are looking for another. Some are looking toward the Orient. They feel that possibly in those ancient religions of the East may lurk a truth which will redeem the world. There are already fourteen thousand Buddhists in the United States. Others are looking toward some new philosophy, the product of the Occidental mind. They crave New Thought because the old thought did not work. Others are relying on science, hoping that science will do for us what religion has failed to do. There is a vast unrest throughout the Christian world, and there are prophets who see in our present civilization the progressive dissolution of organized Christianity.

A great multitude of intelligent, cultivated people do not care for religion in its traditional forms. They have cast the church behind them. The World War gave them a shock. It opened their eyes to the fact that the church, as at

present organized and led, cannot do the things which humanity most needs to have done. This feeling is especially strong in the youth of the Christian world. Young men and women in appalling numbers are not taking the place of their parents in the church. Many fathers and mothers are confused and distressed, not knowing what to do. All over England one hears the lamentation, "The young people have left the church." In some quarters a few remain; in other places all have gone. The young men of England came home from the war with their hearts and minds full of new questions. They had seen things which raised doubts; they had gone through experiences which swept away many of their former beliefs. They had suffered things inexpressible, they had seen many of their fellows blown to atoms and their attitude to men in authority changed. Statesmen had bungled, and churchmen had fumbled, and young men had paid the price of these old men's cowardice and stupidity. Respect for government was weakened, and reverence for the church was demolished. All over the

United States there are young men and women who have said good-bye to the church. Religion to them is not a force. If it were a force it would accomplish something more than it does. The church is an anachronism; if it were not it would put an end to evils like war. In many parts of China one falls in with young Chinese who were in France during the war. They saw things there which gave them a new idea of Christendom. Many of them had respected Christianity because they had seen it through the eyes of the missionaries. But when they saw face to face the Christians of the West they lost all respect for Christianity and are now its relentless critics and foes. The whole cause of missions in the Orient has been jeopardized by the World War. The Oriental scholars and thinkers have not been slow to seize upon the war as evidence of the little that Christianity is able to accomplish and they find it easy to convince the masses that Christianity has nothing to teach the East and that in the Christian religion there are forces against which the world must be on its guard. There is a widespread impression

that Christianity is a fighting religion, a faith which makes men belligerent and cruel, and that it is only by the mild and gentle religions of the East that the world can be saved. The World War inflicted on the church of Christ its deepest wound. From that wound it is bleeding and will continue to bleed through many generations.

It is evident that there must be no more world wars. Christendom must quit its fighting. Christian nations must cease to dress like rowdies. Christian men must refuse to allow their government to squander its money on armour. The instruments of bloodshed must be beaten into the implements of industry. Nations must cease to practise in times of peace the games of war. Viscount Bryce was right when he said, "We must end war, or war will end us."

In order to avoid another world catastrophe it is necessary to see clearly how we got into the last one. We slid into Gehenna because the leaders of the Christian church abdicated their position as teachers of national morality and allowed the devotees of Cæsar to usurp

their place. The cohorts of Cæsar stoutly insisted on their divine right to mould national policy and spend national treasure, and the leaders of the church meekly gave way, allowing the nations to be led by men who did not have the mind of Christ. These men had for their idols Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, and Napoleon the First. They sat at the feet of Machiavelli and took lessons from Metternich and Nietzsche. They were pagans, although most of them were communicants in the church of Christ. They pursued a path which to them seemed right but which led to death. With their lips they paid formal homage to Christ, but in their hearts they said, "We will not have this man to rule over us." The Prince of Peace was recognized in hymn books but not in diplomacy. The ideas of Jesus were taught to Sunday-school children but not practised by statesmen. The ideals of Christ were displayed on the walls of the church but not on the walls of the capitol. Governments were Christian in word but not in deed. The blind led the blind and they all went over the precipice together.

Why did the leaders of the church give way to the cohorts of Cæsar? How did Mars come to be exalted above Jesus? It was not through deliberate intention or through conscious cowardice that the ambassadors of Jesus ran away from their duty. In every generation the ordained officials of the church did no doubt that which to them seemed wisest and best. They were misled by a false idea. They were deceived by a specious philosophy. They were overcome by a fallacious argument. Satan came in this case as in every case as an angel of light.

Having tried for a thousand years the union of church and state, and achieving no satisfying results, it was natural for Europe in the Sixteenth Century to swing to the opposite extreme and for the church (at least in its Protestant form) to hold aloof from political affairs. It came to be an accepted belief that the business of the church is to administer the sacraments, to teach men to say their prayers, and to develop in them the domestic graces and virtues. It was the business of the state, on the other hand, to provide for the common

defense, to raise armies and equip them, to build navies and launch them, to determine the lines of national policy and action. Clergymen were exhorted to keep within their own sphere. They were expected to be experts in theology but not in diplomacy. They looked after men's souls while statesmen told men what they were to do as citizens of the state. For a clergyman to express an opinion in regard to a state programme was considered an impertinence, and in time it became an offense, meriting civil penalties. The state at last would permit no ecclesiastical censure on any of its actions, and whatever the state did was right. Thus through the years before the World War the Lutheran church kept its hands off the German state. For church leaders to express opinions in regard to civic policy was considered an insult to the emperor. It was not for Ministers of the Gospel to have ideas in regard to the size of the army or the equipment of the navy. Those were sacred matters entrusted to a company of God's experts, and with them the officials of the church were not allowed to meddle. In this way Germany went

forward in a military and naval policy which aroused the suspicion and fear of all Europe. What went on in Germany was going on also in Russia and France and England. Foreign policy was moulded in every great country by the general staff. Cardinals and bishops were not consulted. Clergymen and theologians were not expected to think. Let them pray! What did they know about the intricate affairs of state? Of what value was their opinion on matters which lay within the exclusive province of generals and admirals? Church and state pursued their divergent paths, the church teaching that the greatest thing in the world is love, the state teaching that the greatest thing in the world is physical force. The church taught men to pray; the state taught them to fight. The church taught boys to be gentle and kind; the state trained them in the fine art of thrusting a piece of sharpened steel into the abdomens of other boys. For years these clashing policies were continued, and only a radical here and there noticed the direction in which the world was drifting or

ventured to call attention to the abyss into which humanity was likely to fall.

There were plausible reasons why each nation pursued the course it did. It is impossible to read the history of any of the leading nations of Europe for the forty years preceding the World War without being impressed by the cogency of the reasons given for every step that was taken. Selfishness was rampant in the world. Greed was increasingly voracious. Science had opened up new areas of the earth's surface to exploration, and vast populations long separated were brought face to face. There were backward peoples who could be exploited and immeasurable resources which could be developed. Civilization had become industrial, and raw materials and new markets were indispensable. In the presence of all this unclaimed treasure it was not easy for the nations to be polite. No one was willing to wait for the other. They all rushed in at once. They stepped on one another's toes. They kicked one another's shins. They shoved one another to the wall. There was a fierce

scuffle, a furious scramble, with a lamentable loss of temper. Every nation wanted a place in the sun—a larger place than it had. Business in every nation wanted more business and therefore additional markets. Africa, like a big pie, was being cut into slices, and each nation wanted as big a slice as possible. The Mesopotamian valley was open to the first comers, and several competitors tried to arrive there first. Manchuria and other regions in the Far East were within easy reach, and the nation which had the longest and the strongest arm would probably get them. The rivalry became vehement, and the competition waxed hot. Nations became increasingly jealous of their vital interests and national honour, and to guard these there was nothing so efficacious as guns. Representatives of big business camped at the door of every foreign office, and diplomats and financiers and merchant princes became coadjutors in working out the national programme. With all this the church had nothing to do. In this the Christian minister had no concern. He was busy with the affairs of his parish, and statecraft was be-

yond his ken. The real guides of the nations were politicians, men who had been trained in the practices of diplomacy and who were more or less responsive to whatever pressure was exerted upon them by any powerful and selfish group.

It was early discovered that national prestige is enhanced by thick armour, that smaller nations are likely to be more amenable to advice if they can first look into the mouth of a gun. Vital interests are never so safe as when hidden behind thick fortifications, and national honour is never so sure of being respected as when a nation carries a big stick. Even the Christian Roosevelt was known all over the world as a man who extolled the virture of a big stick. All nations accordingly provided themselves each with a big stick, the size of the stick depending on the nation's measure of wealth. Those carrying the biggest sticks were called "great powers." They were "great powers" because they had the heaviest clubs. It was evident that the meek did not inherit the earth. The earth went largely to the nation possessing the largest number of

dreadnaughts and cruisers. It was demonstrated by experience that while peacemakers may be called in the church sons of God, it is the successful warmakers who wear the crowns as the demigods of mankind. The nations were not eager to be called sons of God. They wanted cheap labour, raw materials, and expanding markets. They wanted triumphal arches for their warriors..

It was when big business got its eyes and hands on the world melon that the generals and admirals climbed into the seats of power. It was a world ruled largely by generals and admirals which plunged Europe into the World War. In modern warfare armies to be efficient must be large. This means a great host of officers. Warfare is increasingly technical. This means an immense number of highly educated and carefully trained men. Men who are able and disciplined and organized are capable of exerting an incalculable influence. A navy to be worth anything must also be big. This means another great company of highly trained officers, men of calibre and character, capable of moulding by their

thought and speech public opinion and state policy. One could not stay in Germany before the World War even a few weeks without being deeply impressed by the tremendous grip the army officers had on public opinion. And one could not travel through England without feeling the enormous pressure on public sentiment exerted by the officers of the British Navy. In all the leading nations the army and navy had become colossal institutions, mighty forces in the realm of public opinion and also in the realm of parliamentary action. It is the policy in every country for the army and navy to concentrate many of their ablest officers in the capital city, where they will always be in sight and where they can hold in their eye whatever is done by the elected representatives of the people.

It was these army and navy oligarchies which precipitated the World War. During the war we blamed now this man for bringing on the war, now that, but after reading the war literature of the last ten years it is evident to most unbiassed readers that no ruler wanted the war, that no statesman wished it,

that no parliament expected it, and that no people desired it. The war came of itself. Men stumbled into it, they slid in, they were dragged in. The war machine pulled them in. Through many years the nations had built up the war machine. It became so colossal and so mighty that the men who had built it could not control it. When it started in motion no one could stop it. When mobilization began no emperor or group of emperors could check it. The political rulers of Europe became the victims of the machinery which the military and naval experts had created. No wonder the church was impotent. Why should anyone make fun of the church? Every institution was impotent. The university was impotent, so was the public school, so was the press—the mighty press—so was the court—all the courts: so was science, so was art, so was common sense, so was everything. We were all swept down into a pulpy mass of pitiable helplessness. For a generation the Christian world had acted the fool, spending its treasure to the extent of billions of dollars on instruments of destruction, and training millions of its boys

in target practice and bayonet drill, and finally, when the fateful hour struck, Christendom slid into hell. For four awful years the smoke of its torment went up day and night, and the sky is still blackened by the murky vapours. Retribution is a fearful fact. "Whatsoever a man sows, that shall he also reap." That is as true of nations as of individuals. Whatsoever a nation sows that shall it also reap. Europe through forty years prepared for war. It reaped war. How could it reap anything else? How can you reap peace if you sow cartridges and bayonets? How can you receive the blessing of the Prince of Peace if you deliberately set up the enginery of hate?

The war was inevitable, not by the decree of God but by the long-continued sinning of man. The war was a just chastisement. Christendom deserved it. We deserved to suffer the agony of digging ten million graves. We deserved to stand helpless and see more than three-hundred-and-fifty billion dollars go up in smoke. The nations deserve to bear in their bodies the scars of that great affliction, and they deserve to carry on their backs through

weary years the burden which the God of nations has rolled upon them.

How can we escape another world war? Only by avoiding the follies that precipitated the last one. If we follow a course similar to the course pursued before 1914, then a still worse calamity will overtake us. If the church does nothing to keep the generals and admirals from preparing for war, then another war will come, and when it comes the church will be impotent to check it or to mitigate it or to shorten it. It is an awful thing to fall into the hands of the living God if we are transgressing his law. It is against the law of God that nations should walk about like bandits or rowdies weighted down with deadly weapons, thinking only of their national honour, rattling their swords, counting aloud their battleships, boasting about their military or naval prestige, concerned chiefly with their vested interests, and strutting because of their imagined superiority to their neighbours.

The time has arrived for the church—ministers and laymen—to come boldly into the arena of international politics. This is to-day

the most critical department of political life. National politics is indeed important, but international politics is far more crucial. The foreign policy of a nation is farther reaching than its domestic policy. How shall a nation deal with its neighbours? That is more momentous than how shall it deal with its own citizens? On its attitude to its neighbours may depend the peace of the whole world and also its own very existence.

The international question, then, is one with which the leaders of the church must resolutely grapple. There is no field into which they ought to advance with more boldness and determination. There are no subjects on which they ought to speak with more clearness and assurance than the questions concerning military and naval budgets and the recommendations of the general staff. How many million dollars shall we spend on new cruisers, how many officers shall we train for the army—let no minister of Christ be frightened out of taking hold of such questions because the army and navy nabobs in Washington tell him to attend to his own business.

The size of army and navy is a matter of tremendous importance to the ministers of Christ. The idea that these matters must be left to military experts is false. They have been left to such experts too long. We shall never get out of the mess we are in until we put these experts into their proper place. They are usurpers, not we. Let them attend to their own business. There are technical matters in army and navy with which a preacher has nothing to do. The technicians must be left to work out the details of construction and manipulation and decide, for instance, what shall be the elevation of a gun, how an aëroplane is to be managed and a submarine is to be run. But national policy is not a matter for a group of army and navy experts. The size of the navy is not to be determined by naval officers nor the appropriations for the army by a coterie of generals and colonels. These are questions of statesmanship, and the military experts must be kept out of them. These experts should have nothing to say when it comes to the reduction of armaments. Conferences on that subject have al-

ways come to nothing because there are too many rear admirals present. It is absurd to suppose that naval officers will favour a curtailment of the prestige of the institution to which they have devoted their life. Our fathers did wisely when they made the commander in chief of our army and navy a civilian. Military specialists are not safe guides, nor are naval experts dependable counsellors. The men best fitted to speak on world matters are men who understand the principles of life as those principles have been announced by the Son of God. Men who spend their lives with physical apparatus and with problems involving the properties of explosives and the application of physical forces for the attainment of physical ends cannot be trusted to deal with the souls of nations in their intimate relations to one another and in the complications of their tangled international life. The mind of Christ is essential for the solution of the problems of a world redeemed by Christ. The mailed fist is too clumsy for this difficult and delicate work. The mind of Cæsar is too coarse to comprehend the beautiful and gentle

ways of God. International programmes must be laid down by Christian civilians who know the nature and the capacities and the destiny of the human soul. The military and naval aristocracies must be toppled from their thrones. We need a different type of men to take the leadership of the nations.

It is only through the slow and progressive education of the people that the world is to be delivered from the delusions by which it has been plagued. Multitudes of intelligent men and women are still in the thrall of superstitions generated in the camp of Cæsar. There are many Christians, for instance, who believe that war is inevitable, just as earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and hurricanes are inevitable. They forget that wars are all man-made and therefore can be ended by man. There are many who believe that human nature cannot be changed and that because men have always fought therefore they always will. To be sure Jesus says, "Ye must be born again," from which it follows that men can be changed in their disposition. A consistent Christian is under bonds to believe that hu-

man nature can be changed. There are many who believe that an army and a navy are a police force, and that every argument for a city police force is equally valid for an army and navy. This is an analogy commonly used by major generals and rear admirals, and their audiences do not detect the fallacy. A police force is not a fighting machine, whereas an army is. Police forces do not fight one another; armies do. Police forces do not kill except incidentally. The main business of an army is killing. Many are fooled by the word "defense." A country must be defended, we are told, and what defense is so dependable as guns? Of course, everyone wants security, and if a big army and a huge navy will give us this, by all means let us have them, no matter what they cost. But the man in the street does not see that this argument is fallacious, for it assumes something as a fact which is only a fancy. It assumes that if a nation increases the size of its navy its neighbours will allow their navies to remain as they are. Whereas, if one nation increases the number of its fighting ships, its neighbours will add a

like number to their own navies, the result being no greater security in the end than was possessed at the start. That game was played adroitly and enthusiastically for ten years before the World War, and we all know how the game came out.

There are many who are mesmerized by the argument from insurance. It runs thus: "Ours is a rich country—the richest in the world. Other nations are all poor, and they look at us with hungry eyes. They are at heart all thieves, and if we do not protect ourselves with guns these nation-robbers will swoop down upon us and take all we possess." The fact that our rear admirals and brigadier generals have been repeating that argument for so many years to audiences which have gulped it down with alacrity is proof that the intelligence of at least some Americans is not extensive and that a deal of enlightenment remains to be done. It never occurs to the man who applauds the argument from insurance that he is being duped by the adroit misuse of a word. In insurance transactions there is always a corporation which on the payment

of certain premiums guarantees to recoup all losses, whereas the money invested in army and navy guarantees no compensation for any loss, however great. At the end of the World War what company compensated France or Germany or England for the tremendous losses which they incurred? They were all insured, heavily insured, against what? And as for defense, it seems possible for a nation to be best defended when it has no army or navy at all. Germany is to-day physically defenseless, and yet she is safer than at any time before the war. There is no possibility of any nation attacking her so long as she is unarmed. It is true—even though many find it difficult to believe it—that friendships are a greater security than battleships. The best tangible proof of this to be found anywhere is the boundary line between Canada and the United States. The line is 3,800 miles long, and throughout its entire length there is not a fort or a gun. Both nations are therefore secure.

It is for the preacher to expose these militarist fallacies and to turn the sophistries of the rear admirals inside out. The boys and girls in the

Sunday schools ought to be taught how to answer the experts of the general staff. All our young people ought to become experts in passing judgment on the plans submitted by the naval board. It is by right ideas that we are to conquer the world. The military and naval oligarchies in Washington are teachers. Their primary work is teaching. After officers retire from active service they keep right on teaching. They are frequenters of banquets, and wherever they go they make speeches. They love to speak, especially before chambers of commerce and women's clubs. They know where the fertile soil is to be found. If they can gain the ear of the women and of big business men the appropriations for army and navy in the next Congress are more likely to be generous.

These speakers are not always courteous in referring to men who do not agree with them. They have a special antipathy to clergymen who belong to peace societies and who question the value of swollen armies and navies. They use harsh names in referring to all those who think the time has arrived for a radical

reduction in armaments. The favourite name for a miscreant of that type is "traitor." A traitor, according to international law, is a man worthy of death. It is the most stinging word a general or admiral can use, and that is why he hurls it at a man who disputes his philosophy of international life.

The militaristic group speaks for a large constituency, and its ideas are not likely to be banished in this generation. With this whole military and naval hierarchy the church of Christ must soon or late come to grips. They are, on the whole, the most dangerous enemies of Christ in our generation. If the truth announced by Jesus Christ is the very truth of God, then we must do everything within our power to make Christ's principles prevail. If we accept his principles we must stand up for them, no matter what it costs. If we risk popularity, fortune, friendships, life itself, we must pay the price. The church would have accomplished more if it had been more willing to suffer. We whisper where we ought to shout from the housetop, and we compromise where we ought to refuse to re-

treat a single inch. The church of the Prince of Peace must sacrifice for the cause of peace. It must be willing to be unpopular, to be called names—bolshevist, anarchist, communist, traitor, fool—to be denounced, ridiculed, slandered, threatened, crucified. It must not be afraid of arousing the venomous resentment of the entire militarist establishment, with all its sympathizers, apologists, and retainers.

The zealots who are always dreaming of the next war and who contend that there is security only in guns will forgive every offense but one. They have no objection to preachers preaching conventional peace sermons, nor do they object to religious conventions passing resolutions in favour of peace. They do not care how severely war is arraigned. They paint black pictures of it themselves. They are not hostile to peace treaties. On the whole, they rather like them. They smile at the Paris Pact, but they do not fight it. They claim to be peace lovers and peace workers themselves. They will let you do anything you please and say anything you choose provided you keep your hand off the army and the

navy. These must not be hampered in their development. Their prestige must not be impaired. They must have hundreds of millions of dollars to spend every year in playing war games and in impressing the world with our impregnable defenses. Nor must they be hindered in their chosen work of teaching the philosophy of militarism. A place must be made for it in all of our colleges and if possible in all of our high schools. That is the chief value of the summer training camps. They are a school in which young men imbibe the militarist philosophy and are trained to look forward to the next war. The physical drill is only secondary, the inculcation of the principles of militarism is all-important. War psychology must be built up in the soul of youth. It is because their philosophy is sacrosanct that they resent any criticism or contradiction. Their ideas of security and defense and preparedness and patriotism and true Americanism are, they think, the only sound ones, and anybody rejecting one or all of them is an undesirable citizen—an ignoramus, a visionary, a traitor to the flag.

Men with such a viewpoint and such an attitude must be converted. It is the business of the church to convert them. These men do not understand the world they are living in. They do not know the power of God. They do not know the value of faith. They do not know the capacity of sympathy or the miracle-working power of love. Because they are ignorant of the high things of the spirit their teachings work mischief. Their arguments must therefore be answered. Their philosophy of international life must be rejected.

What is in the back of the head of their leaders in Washington came out last year when they asked for seventy-four new ships of war at an expense of nearly eight hundred million dollars. As Walter Hines Page used to say: "Militarism has no judgment." How true that is. It makes the most preposterous proposals at the most inopportune times. It does not know the A B C's of consistency. It cares nothing for the respect of mankind. The glorious opportunity for America to set a noble example never enters its mind. Even now, when our nation has renounced war as an instrument

of national policy and fourteen other nations have renounced it, too, the naval oligarchy in Washington wants additional warships and would ask for a hundred of them if it dared.

But sometime, somehow, we are going to come to the end of this everlasting preparing for war. We have been befooled long enough. We have been robbed long enough. The time has come to say, "We will go no further in this business." We cannot do our work as a church if our young men are playing war games on the land and the sea and in the air. We cannot rise into a Christian mood so long as we read in our magazines and papers the story of our preparation for the next war. We cannot create an atmosphere of good will so long as army and navy officers are feeding fear and suspicion and hate. The statesmen have renounced war. Let the church renounce it, too! By universal consent war is unspeakably inhuman, devilishly barbarous, shockingly un-Christian. War is a crime against humanity. War is a sin against God. War is an insult to Jesus Christ. War is a

disgrace to the Christian church. It must go. Preparations for war must also go. Drilling for war must also go. We will not discuss past wars. It is futile to debate about their rightness or wrongness. The times of ignorance God overlooked, but now he commands men that they shall all everywhere repent, inasmuch as he hath appointed a day in which he will judge the world in righteousness by the man whom he hath ordained.

THE END

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